

## Car bombing kills nine in Jo'burg

JOHANNESBURG (AP) — A huge car bomb exploded in this city's downtown area yesterday morning, killing at least nine people, damaging the headquarters of the African National Congress, and terrorizing South Africans just two days before their first all-race election.

One of those killed was an ANC provincial legislature candidate, Susan Keane, who was driving into the ANC regional office for a meeting when the bomb went off. Other victims were pedestrians near the blast site.

The car, packed with 70 to 90 kg of explosives, blew up on Bree Street, about halfway between the ANC's national headquarters and regional offices, police Col. Steve Senekal said.

There had been no warning before the explosion, which occurred



**SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS 1994**

at a time downtown streets are busy with churchgoers and shoppers.

"This is by far the biggest bomb that ever went off in Johannesburg," Senekal said.

No one claimed responsibility for the explosion that also wounded about 100 people, mainly from flying glass. Police said the prime suspects are white extremists — the last, stubborn holdouts to the election tomorrow, Wednesday and Thursday that will usher in black-majority rule.

A spokesman for the militant right-wing Afrikaner Resistance Movement denied the group was involved.

Political leaders appealed for calm.

"I don't want you to concentrate on the violent action of those people who want to disrupt the process," ANC President Nelson Mandela said at a massive rally in the port city of Durban, that culminated his campaign for the nation's highest office. "We're going to deal with those people. We have made fantastic progress — despite criminals and murderers."

The ANC is expected to win the election, the first in South African history to include the black majority. Right-wing extremists opposed to black majority rule have threatened drastic action before voting begins. But the present white-led government, expected to share power with the ANC in the next administration, said it was resolved to go ahead with the voting.

"There is no possibility that radical minorities will be allowed to frustrate the will of the vast majority of the South African people," President F.W. de Klerk said in a statement. "All they will achieve will be to add to the unnecessary suffering of innocent citizens who have already suffered enough."

The last renewed fears of raging violence during the election — fears that had been quelled by the last-minute decision of the Zulu nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party to take part in the vote. Inkatha's decision left only right-wing extremists boycotting the ballot.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe, who agreed last week to end the party's boycott of the balloting, joined in the condemnations of the violence. "The IFP gains absolutely nothing from violence... Let the election run its course and let it be free and fair," he said.

Assassination fears, Page 4

## 170 killed in Rwanda hospital massacre

NAIROBI (Reuters) — About 170 patients and staff, helpless in a south Rwanda hospital, were slaughtered yesterday, the latest massacre in the central African country's civil war, a medical aid agency said.

Doctors with Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) reported the killing from Butare, in southern Rwanda.



Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin reviews the Russian Honor Guard with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin upon his arrival yesterday at Moscow's Vnukovo Airport. (Story, Page 2)

## Kiryat Arba man stabbed in Hebron

KIRYAT Arba resident Arye Halevy, 39, was stabbed yesterday in the head and face while chasing stonethrowers near Beit Hadassah in Hebron.

Halevy was taken to Jerusalem's Hadassah-University Hospital in Ein Kerem, where he was listed in satisfactory condition.

Halevy, who was initially treated in the trauma unit and sent for a computerized tomography scan, suffered fractures in the jaw and face, but no brain damage.

Kiryat Arba local council head Zvi Katsover said that Halevy, a long-time resident, showed "irresponsibility" in wandering around the Beit Hadassah area alone. According to Kat-

HERB KEINON

sover, Halevy gave chase after he was stoned in the center of the city.

At the same time, Katsover said the release of Palestinian prisoners and talk of releasing Hamas prisoners sends Palestinians the message that Jewish blood is cheap.

"What does an Arab risk in attacking a Jew?" Katsover asked. "He will sit a little in the police or prison authorities' summer camp, and then will be released in one agreement or the other. He risks nothing when he attacks. I guarantee you that if Jews would know that

they would not risk anything, they would also do things like this."

Noam Arnon, spokesman for the settlement in Hebron, said that after Jews saw people fleeing in all directions near Beit Hadassah yesterday afternoon they went to see what happened and found Halevy. Arnon said that dozens of Kiryat Arba and Hebron Jews went to the site after the attack in order to show a presence and send a message that Jews will continue to walk wherever they want in the city. The Jews left the area after the IDF came in and declared it a closed military area.

The IDF searched the area for the attackers, but have made no arrests.

Judy Siegel contributed to this report.

## Housing Ministry weighs eastern Jerusalem project

BILL HUTMAN

CONSTRUCTION of a Jewish housing project on the Kerem el-Mufti tract in eastern Jerusalem is again being considered by the Housing Ministry, The Jerusalem Post has learned.

Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer promised Mayor Ehud Olmert at a recent meeting that he would look into the project, sources said.

The controversial project was originally presented by former

housing minister Ariel Sharon. The Rabin government froze the project after the 1992 Knesset election, calling it a provocation of the Arab residents and damaging to the peace process.

A ministry spokeswoman said last night that Ben-Eliezer agreed to look into several projects in Jerusalem.

She could not say, however, whether the Kerem el-Mufti was one of them.

According to the sources close to the project, over 200 units are planned for the site, which adjoins the government complex at Sheikh Jarrah.

The site is also just across the street from the Shepherd Hotel,

which is likely to be used for Jewish housing once it is evacuated next month by the Border Police, the sources noted.

Palestinian sources said the several dunam tract was formerly owned by the family of Palestinian leader Faisal Husseini, and that the family still claims it as theirs.

The plot, which lies between two Arab neighborhoods — Sheikh Jarrah and Wadi Joz — is today registered as state land.

## Japhet pleads innocent to criminal charges

EVELYN GORDON

FORMER Bank Leumi chairman Ernst Japhet pleaded innocent yesterday to criminal charges in connection with the 1983 bank shares collapse.

The opening session of Japhet's trial lasted a mere 10 minutes, as Japhet's lawyer, Yigal Arnon, chose to submit his arguments in writing rather than orally.

For the most part, Japhet's defense is identical to that submitted by Bank Leumi and its No. 2 man, Mordechai Einhorn, during the trial of the other bankers and banks involved in the share manipulation which caused the collapse — a defense which Jerusalem District Court Judge Miriam Naor rejected. Both the bank and Einhorn were found guilty, and Einhorn was sentenced to eight months in prison plus a NIS 600,000 fine.

Japhet is being tried separately because he fled the country before the original trial began. His trial is expected to be short, since both sides have agreed to act as if all the evidence submitted during the earlier trial had been submitted in this one. Naor has allotted five days for additional testimony — May 9-13 — and Arnon said even that much time may not be necessary.

The charges against Japhet, like those against Einhorn and IDB chairman Raphael Recanat, include violating the duties of a bank

manager, aggravated fraud, securities fraud, misleading customers, and falsifying documents.

In his defense, Japhet admits that, as Leumi's chairman, he was responsible for the bank's actions during the years preceding the collapse. However, he said, he cannot be held criminally responsible, because there was no criminal intent. On the contrary: the bank's buying and selling of its own shares was dictated by the conditions of the market and the need to prevent sharp fluctuations in share prices.

However, Naor rejected this argument in her February 16 verdict against Leumi and the other banks, saying that while this might have been true at the beginning, the dangers of the manipulation were certainly evident by early 1982, at which point the bankers were obligated to put a stop to it.

Arnon also argued that the alleged manipulation was known to all the relevant government agencies — the Treasury, the Bank of Israel, and the Securities Authority — and could not have been stopped without their active cooperation, which they declined to give.

Naor rejected this argument as well in her earlier verdict, stating that the authorities' lapses did not absolve the bankers of their responsibility.



Ernst Japhet in court yesterday.

(Isaac Harari)

## Day in court fails to ruffle 'The Accused'

ABRAHAM RABINOVICH

HE looked like Our Gracious Host, not The Accused.

An expression of self-confidence like that worn by Ernst Japhet yesterday in Jerusalem District Court cannot be mistaken for the thin veneer of instant bravado. If he thought the prison sentence meted out to his fellow bankers this month had any relevance to him, the thought was completely sealed off from the composed face and amused eyes of the man who had been Israel's most prominent

banker. "Did you sleep well last night?" asked a female radio reporter.

Japhet almost winked. "Do you have any other indiscreet questions?" he asked. Yes, he had indeed slept well, he said. Why shouldn't he?

A Man of Substance is Ernst Japhet. White-haired, dark blue-suited, he still seemed capable of straightening out a bank's finances

— nay, the nation's — between breakfast and lunch and still have time for a round of golf. He did not exude superciliousness and even seemed to welcome a bit of banter with the press.

"Beit Hamishpat," the attendant shouted, and all rose as Judge Miriam Naor entered, white sandals and a necktie under her judicial robe. It will be she who determines whether Japhet's self-confi-

dence and power had drifted beyond intellectual arrogance and into crime.

The courtroom was surprisingly empty. Except for a line of reporters who had positioned themselves for an ongoing view of Japhet's countenance, there was only a handful of spectators. It was the best morality play in town, but the public had either figured out what the moral was, or didn't much care anymore.

## Rabin, Peres differ over pace of talks

### Foreign Ministry denies disagreement exists

HERB KEINON, ALON PINKAS and Itim

DIFFERENCES between Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres over negotiations with the Palestinians emerged at yesterday's cabinet meeting, according to several ministers.

But last night, sources in the Foreign Ministry denied there is any disagreement between Rabin and Peres.

Peres and Rabin met yesterday at Ben-Gurion Airport just prior to Rabin's departure, and Peres reported on his talks with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat in Bucharest, from where he had returned a few hours earlier.

Peres and Arafat are scheduled to meet Thursday in Cairo to "finalize the accord" on implementation of the Gaza and Jericho agreement, senior diplomatic sources in Jerusalem said yesterday. If all differences are settled by then, the agreement will be signed by Rabin and Arafat in Cairo next week, they said.

Rabin, who is to return from Russia on Thursday, is expected to then meet with Peres and decide on the signing date.

Israel and the PLO remain at odds over several issues in the military and legal negotiations which resumed yesterday in Cairo, mostly pertaining to Palestinian demands for symbols of sovereignty. Among the unresolved issues are Palestinian stamps, a Palestinian coin, passports, a direct-dial international area code and the composition of the self-governing council.

Nabil Sha'ath, the chief Palestinian delegate, arrived at the Cairo talks saying that if all goes well, a final agreement could be signed next week in Cairo by Arafat and Rabin.

"If things go according to schedule, then Mr. Arafat will be coming at the end of this week to sit with us and discuss with us so we will be ready for next week," he told reporters.

In the negotiations yesterday, Israel also agreed that one day after the beginning of the agreement's implementation, 1,000 Palestinian policemen will be allowed to deploy in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. Previously, Israel agreed to only 300 policemen.

This change was apparently

agreed upon in a meeting among Rabin, Peres, Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Ehud Barak, and his deputy and chief negotiator Maj.-Gen. Amnon Shahak, which took place at the airport yesterday morning before Rabin departed for Moscow.

At the meeting, also attended by Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin, Rabin and Peres disagreed on several points regarding the negotiations, among them the speed with which the agreement should be signed. Rabin reportedly does not want to sign until all outstanding issues are ironed out, while Peres is pushing for an agreement to be signed as soon as possible, with the outstanding issues to be worked out afterwards.

Peres chaired the cabinet meeting, since Rabin was on his way to Russia.

A number of ministers said Peres got the impression from the Palestinians that the negotiations had to be completed as soon as possible, so they could show they had achieved something. Peres reached several agreements with Arafat on this subject, but Rabin reportedly disagreed with some of them.

"Minister Peres reported on serious concerns and worries on the Palestinian side over whether they were doing the right thing," said Absorption Minister Yair Tsaban. He added that "there are [differences over] nuances between Peres and Rabin, like between any two statesmen with different backgrounds. We are talking about small points; overall there is agreement."

Police Minister Moshe Shahal said that "sometimes the prime minister and the foreign minister see the subject from different viewpoints."

Housing and Construction Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer said: "In my opinion, the agreement will be signed within a week or two, and there are no disagreements between Peres and Rabin."

Environment Minister Yossi Sarid agreed. "There is no need to check the temperature every day, whether it went up or down a degree. The serious problems in the negotiations have been solved, and in my opinion, the remaining problems will be wrapped up with-

(Continued on Page 2)

## Police nab pair who shot 11 in TA air-rifle shooting spree

RAINE MARCUS

POLICE last night arrested two men they suspect of shooting 11 people, mostly in the shoulder, in different areas of Tel Aviv and Ramat Gan last night.

The gunmen, using an air rifle or air gun, apparently opened fire from a moving Fiat car. None of the victims got the car's license plate number, but said it was black. Police stopped a car fitting the description and found an air rifle while questioning the two occupants.

The first victim, a 44-year-old Ramat Gan man, was shot in the shoulder at around 8 p.m. while he was sitting on the sidewalk outside his kiosk.

He was taken to Petah Tikva's

Beilinson Hospital where he was treated for light wounds.

Around 90 minutes later, a 17-year-old girl who was strolling on the beach opposite the Opera Tower building was also shot in the shoulder by the same gunman. She was treated by Magen David Adom personnel.

Meanwhile, other victims suffering from light gunshot wounds arrived at Ichilov Hospital's emergency ward for treatment.

They had been shot while walking in different areas of the city, including the Dov Airfield, Ibn Gvirol and Allenby Streets.

One man was shot in the shoulder near the Dolphinarium.

## Away From It All In Sinai!!!

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# Gush Katif residents demand more security after stabbing

ABOUT 200 Gush Katif residents demonstrated outside the Prime Minister's Office yesterday calling for more security, a day after Sigal Sofer, a Neveh Dekalim woman, was stabbed while sitting in her yard by two terrorists who infiltrated the settlement.

Sofer, 23, who was stabbed seven times, showed a remarkable recovery yesterday at Soroka Hospital in Beersheba, doctors said, demonstrated by her ability to get down from her hospital bed.

"It was a great miracle," hospital doctors said. "The knife penetrated her chest, but was only a few millimeters away from her heart and aorta."

Sofer suffered severe bleeding, but was improving after transfusions and surgery.

Yesterday, two Gazans jumped an Israeli man sitting at a cafe in the industrial zone near the Erez checkpoint at the entrance to the Gaza Strip yesterday, grabbed his pistol and fled. Soldiers pursued the two, who ran south towards a gas station.

The soldiers stopped one man in a suspicious vehicle, whose appearance matched that of one of the attackers. However, he was unarmed, military sources said. Gaza Coast Regional Council

HERB KEINON

spokeswoman Darya Hershkovitz said Saturday's attack - as well as a shooting incident Wednesday on the Kissufim road to Gush Katif, a road considered "safe" - have galvanized residents concerned about their personal security.

Dozens of policemen and border policemen were on hand in Jerusalem to ensure that the demonstration, which included a large contingent of high-school girls, did not turn violent. The residents brought to the demonstration a car riddled with 32 bullet holes from the Kissufim incident, in which its two passengers were slightly injured.

At the Jerusalem protest, Zvi Hendel, head of the Gush Katif Regional Council, said Saturday's attack was the first time terrorists had penetrated into one of Gush Katif's residential areas. Terrorist attacks in the past have been either on the roads, or in the agricultural areas of the settlements, at some distance from the homes.

"The minute there is a security vacuum, when prisoners are released, and when there are new open-fire regulations that say soldiers cannot fire on Arabs with guns - except if the guns are point-

ed in their direction and there is an intention to shoot - then there is no longer any deterrent," Hendel said.

Hendel said the protesters are calling upon the government to "let the army do the work that it knows how to do, and not do tie their hands. If soldiers see Arabs with guns they need to shoot them," he said.

Hendel said there is now an atmosphere in Gaza that everything is permitted. But he said that the killing of one of the terrorists Saturday in Neveh Dekalim after the attack on Sigal, and the wounding of the other terrorist involved, sends a message that "whoever goes into a settlement to carry out an attack will either be killed or carried out on a stretcher."

At the protest on the Gaza-Khan Yunis road, Yigal Kirschenzaft, who shot and killed the terrorist Saturday, told the demonstration. "They ask me how I feel after having killed a human being, and I say that I did not kill a human being. Scum like this that comes and stabs a woman who two weeks ago gave birth, and who has the child in her arms and another baby in a baby carriage, that is not a human being."

Judy Siegel and Jon Immanuel contributed to this report.



Gush Katif settlers protest outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem yesterday to demand greater security following Saturday's knifing of a woman resident at Neveh Dekalim. (Efraim Kibish)

## Russian Jews greet Rabin with music, dancing, and political bumper stickers

DAVID MAKOVSKY

MOSCOW

THE throng of Russian Jews standing outside Moscow's famed Ark-pova Synagogue evoked emotionally charged memories of a different era, one associated with the refuseniks and demonstrations of the pre-Glasnost period.

But when Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was greeted by more than 1,000 Jews inside and outside the synagogue yesterday, that era seemed far away. The gathering looked more like a spring carnival than a political demonstration.

A dozen youths, wearing Jewish Agency hats and sweatshirts, danced to taped Hebrew music blaring over the public address system outside the synagogue. Some waved Israeli flags as Rabin's limousine drove up. The prime minister emerged and shook a few hands. Many hundreds were left outside, however, as the crowd pushed into the synagogue to glimpse the first Israeli premier to ever visit the former Soviet Union.

The premier, in his address, saluted the determination of the Soviet Jews. "It is right that an Israeli prime minister's first stop in Russia begins at the synagogue in Moscow," he said. "You succeeded in overcoming obstacles. We accompanied your struggle, doing whatever we could. Now your relatives have homes in Karmiel, Upper Nazareth, and Tel Aviv. Many have even come home to the same Jerusalem you dreamed of. Not all have had it economically easy, but they have come home."

But Moscow Chief Rabbi Pinchas Goldschmidt took issue with

Rabin's message, suggesting that bolstering Jewish education should be a top priority, and not just emigrating to Israel.

"Unfortunately, Israel is now in third place for Russian Jews who seek to emigrate, after the US and Germany," Goldschmidt said. He stressed that if there is going to be a reawakened interest in Israel, "We must first strengthen Jewish education in the Diaspora."

The Jews standing outside the synagogue expressed down-to-earth views, a mix of concerns and hopes.

Vika Shargozodsky, a 40-something Moscow woman, pointed to her 15-year-old daughter, Nana-sha, who was about to join a three-year Jewish Agency-sponsored high school program in Israel. "We hear it is a bad situation with the Arabs. I'm afraid about my daughter who is going there," she said.

Nathaniel Beginov, a 50-ish Bukharan businessman living in Moscow, said, "I have visited Israel five times, but the best place to live is where you have work... I would come [to Israel] when I retire."

Alexander Stotsky, director of a building company in Moscow, said he is considering immigrating to Israel, "but I don't like his [Rabin's] friendship with Arafat. I would like to know how Rabin will get out of this corner."

A handful of those gathered were seen brandishing anti-Rabin government bumper stickers. A sticker reading "The people are with Golan" was pasted on the synagogue window. When Rabin emerged from the synagogue, several held up black-and-yellow Habad bumper stickers that read "The land of Israel is in danger," and yelled out "traitor."

One local held up a sticker that reads "Judea and Samaria are here" ("Yeha zeh kan"). Noted one Rabin aide, with a chuckle, "That would be fine with me."

### ARRIVALS

AMIT Women Israel welcomes: Norma Holzer, national president, AMIT USA; Evelyn Blachor, national vice president, AMIT USA; Debbie Selevan, association chairwoman, national board, AMIT USA; Marvin Leff, executive director, AMIT USA, and all Mission participants.

### We sadly announce the death of Dr. LOTTE GOLDSTEIN

(née Juda)

The funeral will take place today, Monday, April 25, 1994, at 4 p.m., leaving from the Sannhedria Funeral Home, Jerusalem.

Dr. Walter Juda and Family, USA  
Ruth and Pinhas Rotstein and Family, Jerusalem  
Inge and Martin Goldstein and Family, USA

We deeply mourn the sudden passing of

### Dr. ALFRED HYMAN

Southgate, London  
who worked tirelessly for M.D.A. - U.K.

Estelle and Family  
We grieve with you.

Naomi and Maurice

In sadness, we announce the death of our dear mother, grandmother and great-grandmother

### ELIZABETH DOTSCH-VISKOOP

The funeral will be held today, Monday, April 25, 1994, at 3:30 p.m. at the Herzliya Cemetery.

Sonja Dotsch and family  
Margalit Ben-Ami and family  
Tirza and Shalom Levinsohn and family

## Fatah officials address Gaza students

JON IMMANUEL

FATAH officials addressed 2,000 male students at Gaza's Islamic University yesterday, in what is now becoming a frequent and restrained exchange of political views between the supporters of the Israel-PLO accord and its enemies.

About 90 percent of the students at Gaza's largest college support Hamas or Islamic Jihad. There are 3,000 male students at the university; the 2,000 female students were not admitted to yesterday's symposium.

Only three weeks ago, Fatah Hawks kidnapped the university's director of admissions, Khaled Hindi, after Izzadin Kassam, the armed wing of Hamas, kidnapped Fatah activist Kamal Majib, on suspicion that he was collaborating with the authorities. Both were released unharmed.

After Friday's Fatah-Hamas agreement to replace violence between them with dialogue and to suspend the manhunt of collaborators for one month, there are hopes such kidnappings will become a thing of the past.

"If we cannot put violence behind us, the Gaza-Jericho agreement will not be the first, but the last agreement," said Hisham Abdel-Razek, a senior Fatah leader in Gaza, responding to questions about the Palestinian police

force. "The Israelis were gambling on our fighting, but we say Palestinian blood is taboo. We are not going to be tools for Israel's purposes."

"We hear the slogan that the police will serve the people, but is this police force going to be neutral or an extension of the Israeli police?" asked one questioner.

Diab Ellouh, the Fatah spokesman in Gaza, invited Hamas to stop opposing the agreement and to "join in the elections. The authority should include everybody. Neither Fatah nor other factions will choose the nature of the Palestinian authority, but the people. It is the right of the Islamic and national parties to establish the authority."

Recent reports from Amman and Tunis have suggested that Hamas is ready to participate in the Palestinian administration, and even to soften its position on Israel. This was denied by Dr. Mahmoud Zahar, considered a senior Hamas spokesman.

He told *The Jerusalem Post* that Hamas "does not want the process, but will not boycott it. Hamas will continue to work through the chambers of commerce and professional associations as it does

now. These associations will deal with the administration but we will not participate in the government."

The dominant problems of the autonomy, he said, were the presence of settlements in Gaza, and his certainty that PLO leader Yasser Arafat "will not allow anyone but Fatah to be in charge of police, security, education." Hamas, he said, could not forswear violence against Israelis as long as settlements remained.

"The people," he said, "will not participate because the autonomy does not conform to the demands of the people."

Dr. Haidar Abdel-Shafi, former negotiating chief, is to give a news conference today expressing the views of a third stream - Palestinians who do not reject the peace process but do oppose the continued presence of Israeli settlements. They recently called on Arafat to resign and hold elections for a new PLO leadership.

Meanwhile, six more Fatah Hawks returned from exile abroad after becoming fugitives from the security forces between 1989 and 1992. So far, 31 have returned since last week. Up to 300 are expected to return, according to Palestinian sources. The army says more returnees are expected, but gave no number.

## Shohat: Economic pact closer, but ministers criticize details

JOSE ROSENFELD

MOST of the outstanding issues at the Paris economic talks between Israel and the Palestinians have been resolved, Finance Minister Avraham Shohat told the cabinet yesterday, but several ministers were critical of some of the details.

Agriculture Minister Ya'acov Tsur attacked the concept of an open economy with the autonomous areas as embodied in the emerging agreement. He noted that the Palestinians really would not want to maintain an open economy for fear of Israeli economic domination.

Shohat rejected Tsur's arguments, saying the Palestinians want open economic relations with Israel, as they see Israel as a major market for their goods and a source of employment for their workers. Shohat noted that the Oslo Declaration of Principles is based on maintaining open economic relations between the parties.

Industry and Trade Minister Micha Harish criticized Shohat for failing to uphold product standards, particularly for building materials, on goods coming from the autonomous areas.

Treasury spokesman Elisheva Braun said in response that only two items, which she did not name, were exempted from meeting Israeli standards, with the stipulation that only limited quantities could be marketed here. She added that one of the

items nearly meets local standards.

Harish also said his ministry is trying to help the Palestinians by opening the local market to Palestinian wheat and soy exports. Agreements with the US, however, require the country to purchase those products in America. Harish said he is discussing allowing the Palestinians to supply those agricultural goods with US Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown and US Trade Representative Mickey Kantor.

A cabinet spokesman said the sides had concluded a tourism agreement last week, but there are a number of unresolved issues, including the import policy and the Value Added Tax rate in the autonomous areas.

The Israelis rejected a Palestinian proposal to exempt telecommunications from import duties. According to the spokesman, the Palestinians requested the exemption to enable them to import sets manufactured in Jordan. By contrast, Israel agreed to exempt sugar and rice imports from duties, the cabinet spokesman said.

Braun refused to confirm the duty exemptions, saying that since the total agreement has not yet been finalized, all preliminary agreements on individual items are subject to change.

Shohat returns today to Paris for the eighth round of economic talks with the Palestinians.

## International seminar on family begins

SASHA SADAN

FORTY-two women from 23 countries attended a reception at Beit Hanassi yesterday as part of a week-long seminar at the Golda Meir Mount Carmel International Training Center on "Women, Family, and Society."

Dr. Dagmar Kopcanova, a family therapist from Slovakia who heads the newly opened Bratislava Institute for Family Studies, lauded

the level of personal attention and warmth she found in Israel.

Joanna Doster, former chair of the United Kingdom's Equal Opportunities Commission and president of "Relate" - Marriage Guidance, said she particularly values meeting with the Israel Women's Network to discuss strategies to achieve bipartisan policies on behalf of women.

## Fire sets off unexploded bombs in North

A BRUSH fire near the Golan Junction in the North spread into old military training grounds and caused unexploded bombs and charges to go off yesterday. The circumstances of how the fire started are still being investigated by police and fire brigade officials.

The fire began in the morning and quickly spread into open fields where unexploded artillery, mortar, and tank shells were scattered. When some began exploding, police and army units closed the area, but left roads open.

Alon Pinkas

## RABIN

(Continued from Page One)

in a week or two," he said. "The end is near."

Perez reportedly told the cabinet that "an effort will be made by both sides to speed up the negotiating process, although there are still several serious problems to solve."

He added that the Palestinian police will enter Gaza only after an agreement is reached. "We will leave Gaza so we don't have to return," he said.

Security sources briefed the cabinet on the agreement in Gaza between Hamas and Fatah that was reached Friday, whereby both groups pledged to settle internal Palestinian disputes peacefully, and to put a halt for a month to the killing of people who allegedly cooperate with Israeli authorities.

The security sources said this pact appears to be only a local one, and does not represent an

overall pact between the two organizations. The security sources said denials of a Fatah-Hamas pact were issued from Hamas representatives in London.

The security sources, who reported that 435 Hamas activists were arrested last week in Gaza, said the pact is an attempt to calm Gaza before the agreement is signed, in order to fend off violence once Israeli troops pull out.

During the cabinet meeting, Transportation Minister Yisrael Kessar said that heads of the Druse community on the Golan asked him to express to the cabinet their desire to stay under Israeli sovereignty in any future agreement.

During a tour last week to the Golan, Kessar said he was told by Druse leaders that they are fearful of being Assad's "first victim" if the Golan is returned, and that the "majority of Druse residents want to stay under Israeli sovereignty."

### NEWS IN BRIEF

#### Romanian minister has heart surgery here

Romania's oil minister underwent a coronary bypass operation over the weekend after arriving here for the surgery. The minister, whose name was not released for publication, had been suffering from chest pains, and was operated on by Prof. Daniel Goor at the private Ramat Marpeh Hospital in Ramat Gan. The minister was already up and around yesterday and is due to be discharged in three or four days.

#### Social workers still on strike

The Association of Social Workers begins the fifth day of their all-out strike today. After demonstrating opposite the Jerusalem residence of Finance Minister Avraham Shohat last night, union spokesman David Ziso said the Treasury has still made no contact with the strikers, who are receiving "dozens of emergency calls" daily from people in need of a social worker. Nine thousand social workers are out on strike in protest against the Treasury's alleged failure to fulfill their wage contract.

#### Hula Valley to be flooded

Part of the Hula Valley, drained so laboriously by pioneers 40 years ago, is to be reflooded today in a massive conservation effort. A 1,500-dunam area is slated to be returned to its original swampland state in an operation aimed at restoring the habitat of flora and fauna that once thrived in the Hula Valley waters. The swamp, drained from 1951 to 1958, originally covered 20,000 dunams and was home to many species which died out when it was drained. The flooding project is the initiative of the JNF, Agriculture Ministry, and Israel Lands Administration, as well as local authorities which hope the area will turn into a tourist attraction.

#### Wounded soldier in satisfactory condition

Lior Mizrahi, the 19-year-old soldier who was shot in the neck while on duty in Nabulus on Shabbat, was listed in satisfactory condition last night after undergoing surgery at Sheba Hospital at Tel Hashomer. He was moved to the ear-nose-and-throat department yesterday.

#### Rabin OKs 4,000 more Palestinian workers

Prime Minister Rabin approved an additional 4,000 permits yesterday for Palestinians working in Israel. The Labor Ministry said the decision would bring to 8,500 the number of Palestinians now allowed into the country. The new permits were being issued to married Palestinians over 27 who had been working in Israel for over five years.

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved wife, mother and grandmother

### JEAN GENAUER ז"ל

Wife of Ben Genauer

in Seattle, Washington, Friday April 22, 1994

Mourning by Ben Genauer  
Tzvi Genauer & Family, Bnei Brak  
Elazar Genauer & Family, Los Angeles  
Melech Genauer & Family, Seattle  
Ayala Abramoff, Toronto

The funeral will take place this afternoon, two hours after the plane lands, from Shmargar Park for the Har Hamenuchoh cemetery  
For details please call 03-5702581, 02-814066, 02-512706, 02-824271.





## Former IAF officer acquitted of charges linked to Dotan case

A SPECIAL military court yesterday acquitted Yitzhak Sa'ar of a charge of taking bribes and conspiracy and two counts of conduct unbecoming an officer.

He was convicted, however, on another, lesser, charge of bribery and two other charges of conduct unbecoming an officer.

Sa'ar had been charged in the procurement scandal that involved former air force brig-gen. Rami Dotan, who is now serving a prison term. Sa'ar's friend, Gary Koren, ran a computer software company that was involved in various projects for the Israel Air Force. Sa'ar was accused of collaborating with Koren and Dotan to assign projects to Koren's company, inflate the bills, and split the extra profits, totaling some \$3 million.

The judges were apparently not convinced that Sa'ar fully understood his role in the scheme, adding it was not proven that Sa'ar had actually agreed to participate in the scheme.

However, the judges found him guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer, since he had heard at least one conversation between the other two relating to the scheme and did not either dissuade them or report the matter to the authorities.

Sa'ar was also convicted of bribery and of conduct unbecoming an officer for taking 1,000 Dutch gulden worth of casino chips and bottles of whiskey from Freddy Fink, the head of a firm seeking to do business with the IAF.

Sa'ar is to be sentenced on May 8.

(Itim)



President Ezer Weizman and his wife, Reuma, yesterday visit one of the young victims of the April 6 Afeka car bombing at the Children's Medical Center for Israel in Petah Tikva. Weizman promised to buy the children mountain bikes after they recover.

## Capital puts lien on PLO headquarters

BILL HUTMAN

THE Jerusalem Municipality has put liens on the bank accounts of Orient House - the PLO headquarters in Jerusalem - as part of an effort to force it to pay nearly NIS 1 million in unpaid taxes and water bills.

Deputy Mayor Shmuel Meir said yesterday Orient House had covered only part of its debt to the city, after being warned last month the city would close the headquarters if it did not pay.

The Orient House spokesman was not available for comment. Meir, who holds the finance portfolio at City Hall, said Orient House does not qualify as a non-profit group, which would have erased much of the debt.

Instead, Orient House officials will have to come to an agreement with the city over a payment plan for the nearly NIS 800,000 it still owes in unpaid *amona* property taxes and

water bills, according to city officials.

Negotiations between Orient House and city officials are likely to get under way later this week, Meir said. "We have given them 30 days to work out the debt," he said. He said the liens were placed last week.

Meir has spearheaded the attacks on the government allowing the PLO to have a headquarters in Jerusalem, saying the government's policy would lead to the redivision of the city.

"The people at Orient House keep saying they are like an embassy here, and don't have to pay taxes," Meir said. "We don't accept this."

He denied, however, that the city had singled out Orient House. The city has recently imposed liens against about 100 businesses and institutions with large debts to the municipality, he said.

## Jerusalem to begin move to seven-digit phone numbers in '95

JUDY SIEGEL

BEZEK has given thousands of Jerusalemites a year's notice to prepare for the change of their phone numbers from six to seven digits.

Numbers starting with 5 located in the area between Beit Hakerem and the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway will get a prefix of "6" in April or May 1995, making them the first outside the Dan region to receive seven-digit numbers.

Dan Sagor of Bezek's marketing department said yesterday that most subscribers do not need such an early warning, but the company decided to send a letter to all affected subscribers anyway.

"Businesses that had planned to order large amounts of new stationery or signs with their phone number should be informed in advance or they will suffer a financial loss," he explained.

Although six-digit numbers theoretically give Bezek a capacity of 999,999 different phone numbers, in actual fact the supply is much smaller and requires an additional digit. "No regular phone numbers start with 0 or 1." And institutions that have direct dialing to extensions each use dozens or hundreds of individual phone numbers, even

though the extensions are not considered separate lines," Sagor said.

"There are over 400,000 phone lines in the Jerusalem and southern district, but we have to plan ahead because we expect a great expansion of the telephone network in the coming years," he added.

Few people complain about having to remember an extra number, said Sagor. "One gets used to it. During the early years of the state, phone numbers were only three or four digits long." All Jerusalemites should have seven-digit numbers sometime in 1997; the entire country is due to be shifted to seven-digit numbers around the turn of the century, Sagor said.

Callers who use the six-digit number instead of seven will be informed by a recording of the new number; this arrangement will continue for several months. "We will decide how long on the basis of electronic reports we will receive on how many people use the old numbers by mistake," Sagor said. "We will also launch a major advertising campaign in the press and the electronic media to explain the change."

## Samaritans celebrate Pessah with sacrifice on Mount Gerizim

HAIM SHAPIRO

THE Samaritan community, which numbers some 600 souls, celebrated its Pessah sacrifice last night on Mount Gerizim, near Nablus, amid uncertainty over the future of the community under Palestinian self-rule.

Despite the uncertainty, the Samaritans of Holon have recently completed the paving of a road from their holiday homes on Mount Gerizim to the mountain top, where the sacrifice is carried out. About 60 percent of the Nablus community now lives permanently on Mount Gerizim, with the remaining members of the community live in Nablus during the winter and stay on Mount Gerizim from Pessah until the end of the summer.

As a result of the heightened tension and violence following the Hebron massacre, fewer non-Samaritan visitors were expected for the event, which usually draws several hundred tourists, notables, and theology students. The Samaritans advised their visitors to come via the Trans-Samaria Highway, which avoids passing through Palestinian villages.

This year the community was to sacrifice about 40, year-old sheep. According to A.B., the Samaritan fortnightly newspaper, the heightened tension had resulted in pushing up the price of the sheep. In the afternoon preceding the sacrifice, members of the community engaged in baking matza for the holiday meal.

## Orthodox Christians celebrate Palm Sunday

HAIM SHAPIRO

THOUSANDS of Christian pilgrims from abroad yesterday joined with local Christians at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem to mark Palm Sunday, as celebrated by the Orthodox Churches.

Clouds of incense wafted over the worshippers, as the chants of the various communities which share the historic edifice intermingled. The singing echoed through the vaulted passageways as procession followed procession.

Especially evident this year are some 500 Coptic pilgrims, who came despite the fact that the Coptic Church has officially banned pilgrimage to the Holy Land in protest over the control, by the Ethiopian Church, of a

doorway leading to Deir el-Sultan, a monastery on the roof of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Although many of the Coptic visitors are from the United States and Western Europe, others are from Egypt, the home of their church. Tourism organizers noted that one reason for the willingness of the Copts to come this year, despite the ban, has been the liberalization of rules regarding travel to Israel by the Egyptian government.

Among the most widely attended rites are those of the Washing of the Feet, which takes place on Thursday. On Saturday, the celebrations are to culminate with the Ceremony of the Holy Fire.

## Health Ministry considering taking action against frozen meat packers

JUDY SIEGEL

THE Health Ministry said yesterday it would consider legal action against beef manufacturers who violate ministry regulations limiting the amount of injected water and phosphates in frozen beef.

The ministry's food services division yesterday released the results of tests it carried out in March on frozen beef from 26 manufacturers. According to regulations instituted a year ago, water may constitute no more than 10 percent and phosphates no more than 0.5 percent. The water adds weight to the product

(manufacturers say it keeps the beef juicier), while the phosphates preserve its red color.

Eighty-two samples were taken, three from each brand, with an average taken from the three. Nearly half had a water content higher than 10 percent, while 29 percent had exceeded the phosphate limits.

The Paz factory in Ashdod injected water constituting 37.1 percent of total weight, and the Matza factory in Ashdod had

33.8 percent water in its beef. The B.D.A. company in Tel Aviv, one of the most common brands, had a 20 percent water content and an excessive level of phosphates.

Companies whose products fell below the limits of water and phosphates were Spector and Sons in Lod, Tamaz in Lod, Umiza in Gadera, Escalop in Atarot (Jerusalem), Pikanti in Bnei Brak, Rosenberg in Tel Aviv, Baladi in Tel Aviv, Tibon Veal in Tirat Hacarmel and Ma'adanei Hagalil in Kiryat Shmona.

## Anti-vivisectionists hold nationwide protests for animal rights

LIAT COLLINS

SMALL groups of anti-vivisectionists carrying placards of burned and maimed dogs, cats, and monkeys marked World Day for Laboratory Animals yesterday with vigils outside Tel Aviv University and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Marches were also held Saturday night to mark the event.

The exact number of animals used here for experiments is not known, as several different ministries - Health, Agriculture, Science, and Education - perform experiments and none has centralized data. However, the Israel Society for the Abolition of Vivisection claims that nearly a million animals undergo experiments here annually; most of them mice and rats, but also larger mammals and primates.

Not all the protesters object to the experiments on purely moral grounds alone. In a phone interview, pediatrician Dr. Arye Brecher, the society's scientific

advisor, called animal experiments "a basic mistake and bad science. My experience as a children's doctor is what motivates me to campaign against animal experiments for human medical research."

"At the end of the 20th century it is time for researchers to recognize that there is no similarity from the research point of view between animals and humans, and animal experiments can only show you about animals, not people." He said more scientifically accurate methods exist, such as tissue and cell cultures and pathology specimens.

But at a recent symposium on experiments on animals held at Hadassah-University Hospital, researchers defended the use of animals as the only way to make scientific breakthroughs and to test medicines for safety.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Drug dealer shot from passing car

A member of Jaffa's Abu Sayef family, which is known to police for its drug dealing, was wounded yesterday afternoon when someone shot at him from a passing car on Rehov Yefet. The gunman fled, but he is known to police, who said the shooting was part of a criminal feud.

The victim, who suffered light to moderate wounds, was admitted to Wolfson Hospital in Holon.

The gunshots also broke a window in a nearby apartment building, lightly injuring a woman by glass shards.

(Itim)

### Construction workers hurt in roof collapse

Five construction workers were moderately injured yesterday afternoon when the concrete roof they were pouring in Bnei Brak suddenly collapsed. Four ambulances evacuated the injured, three to Sheba Hospital at Tel Hashomer and two to Beilinson Hospital in Petah Tikva.

(Itim)

### Kollek getting Variety award

Former Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek will receive Variety's Humanitarian Award for his contribution to the peaceful coexistence of the city's Arabs and Jews over the years. The ceremony, to be held in the presence of President Ezer Weizman, will take place May 22 during Variety's annual international congress here.

Kollek will join a distinguished gallery of former recipients, including the UK's Princess Anne, Winston Churchill, and Albert Schweitzer. Variety, whose members are all show business people, is dedicated to helping needy children. It has 55 branches throughout the world.

### Maccabi Union opens congress

Coping with assimilation worldwide and educating Jewish youth in the former Soviet Union and eastern Europe are among the major challenges being discussed by the Maccabi World Union at its first international congress, which opened in Kfar Hamaccabiah yesterday, a representative said.

"We have two aims right now: to continue in with the Maccabiah Games and to improve educational activities, particularly in the smaller communities like Tashkent and Latvia, where Jews are only just relearning about their religion," said Michael Kevehazi, the world union chairman.

With some 300,000 members in 40 countries, the club has become a major promoter of aliya by introducing Jewish youth to Israel and holding most of its activities here. Kevehazi said.

### Beware of snake bites!

A cool breather after a *sharav* brings out the snakes, warns Magen David Adom. At this time of year, vipers' glands are full of poison, and the snakes can bite several times with fatal results. In the event of snake or scorpion bites, lay the victim down on the ground immediately and prevent movement of the part of the body that was affected.

An arm or leg should be wrapped to the body like a fractured limb, and the victim should be taken to a hospital immediately. Do not cut into the wound or try to suck out the poison. Don't allow the victim to eat or drink. Don't apply a tourniquet or cool the bite with ice. One way of reducing the danger is to wear high boots and not to stretch one's hands into places hidden by vegetation or rocks.

### Iraqi infiltrators to be deported

Four Iraqi citizens who infiltrated across the Jordanian border last week will be deported, police told the Haifa Magistrates Court yesterday. The four were arrested Friday morning after crossing into Israel near border marker 58. The Interior Ministry has issued expulsion orders for the four, but the police would not say to which country the four will be sent.

The police asked that the four be held until deportation proceedings are completed. The four, told Judge Yosef Elron that they are not interested in remaining in Israel, but would be happy in any country that would give them asylum.

(Itim)

### Three policemen ordered held for trial

Three border policemen accused of beating and robbing a Nablus man will be held until their trial is over. Supreme Court Justice Michael Cheshin ruled yesterday. He was responding to an appeal by the State Attorney's Office against the Tel Aviv District Court's decision to release the men on bail.

"The indictment presents a horrible picture of acts of contemptible brutality against a defenseless Arab... [by those] entrusted with preserving the peace," Cheshin wrote. "All of our fine words [about human rights]... will be tossed to the winds... if we pass over deeds like these without making our [opposition] heard loudly and clearly."



# SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS VOTE TOMORROW April 26th, 1994

## WHEN AND WHERE DO I VOTE?

Tomorrow, April 26, 1994 one polling station will be operated at the Tel Aviv Showgrounds (Ganei Hatarucha) in Pavillion 32 (Hall 6) and will be open from 07:00 to 19:00.

- Enter the showgrounds from Rokach Blvd. via Gate 1 - the Administration Gate - follow road signs.
- For those coming by private vehicle, parking is available in the showgrounds.
- For those arriving by public transport, "Dan" Bus Numbers: 21, 28, 47, 48, 120 and 247, will bring you to the showgrounds.

## WHAT DOCUMENTS DO I REQUIRE?

All South African citizens eligible to vote must present one of the following at Polling Station:

- A valid, i.e. unexpired, South African passport;
- An identity document (either the old dark blue or new green version);
- A green plastic Identity Card containing your photograph;
- Any of the three versions of the Reference Book.

Remember to bring one of the above documents with you as proof of your eligibility to vote. Without proper documentation you will not be permitted to cast your ballot.

## HOW CAN I FIND OUT MORE?

If you have any other questions or wish to find out more, please don't hesitate to contact the Embassy of South Africa today on 03-5252566. The Embassy will be open tonight (25.4.94) until 22:00. The Embassy will be closed on Tuesday the 26th and Wednesday the 27th of April 1994.

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## Row clouds Mitterrand's tribute to Jewish child victims

PARIS (Reuters) - Jewish leaders yesterday attacked President Francois Mitterrand for saying it was too late to try Nazi war criminals in a row which clouded ceremonies remembering the deportation of Jewish children to concentration camps.

The opening by Mitterrand of a museum in the town of Izieu near Lyon in southeast France yesterday was a solemn tribute to the 44 children, none of whom returned from the camps.

"These children are the symbol of the Jews exterminated by the (collaborationist) Vichy regime. They are also the symbol of the crime against humanity," Mitterrand said in speech.

However, comments by Mitterrand in a new book have reopened old wounds, reawakening bitter divisions on how France should come to terms with some aspects of its wartime past many would rather forget, including the collaborationist Vichy regime.

In the book published during the trial of French militiaman Paul Touvier, 79, who was last week convicted of crimes against humanity for ordering the execution of seven Jews, Mitterrand said there was little point in prosecuting old men so long after the events.

"There are very few witnesses left and it hardly makes any sense. We cannot live forever on memories and bitterness," Mitterrand, a former Resistance fighter, was quoted as saying in an interview given three years earlier.

The comments angered civil plaintiffs at the trial, who said they might play into Touvier's hands.

Mitterrand's stand also angered Marc Aron, honorary president of the Council of Jewish Institutions (CRIF) in the Rhone-Alpes region.

Aron believes French authorities are anxious not to try Nazi war criminals because this would fuel demands for the trials of some officers who fought in more recent conflicts, such as the Algerian war of independence.

"The only question which worries us is: Is France taking its past on board? Are we putting Jewish history between brackets - we say it was sad and we stage a day of commemoration?" Aron asked.

Nazi-hunter Serge Klarsfeld acknowledged that Mitterrand had done much to keep the memory of Vichy persecution of the Jews alive. But he denied Mitterrand's claim that he had "personally" acted to guarantee war criminals were punished.

"Mitterrand's statements during scandals which involved Frenchmen such as (Vichy police chief) Rene Bousquet and Paul Touvier were counter to such punishment," Klarsfeld said.

In his speech yesterday, Mitterrand said the deportation of the children should serve as a lesson for the present.

"Justice which has been meted or which has yet to be meted does not exempt us from the main thing, that is the daily struggle against the roots of an ill which threatens our societies," he said.



South African police search through the rubble after yesterday's huge car bombing in Johannesburg.

(Reuters)

## Experts fear assassination in SA

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters) - South Africa's ultra right-wingers are likely to strike again following yesterday's bombing in central Johannesburg which killed at least nine people and wounded nearly 100, political analysts say.

They fear diehard white supremacists may turn next to assassination to derail all-race elections starting tomorrow.

White rejectionists, who demand a homeland of their own, had made veiled sabotage threats in the last few days.

"It was clearly the work of the right wing," leading academic David Welsh said of the car-bomb which exploded between a regional headquarters of the ANC, the likely election winners, and the headquarters of the radical Pan Africanist Congress.

"The right-wing volcano we all thought was just about extinct could be about to blow. I fear to



**SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS 1994**

say we may have been a little bit premature in dismissing the right-wing threat.

"I suspect drastic right-wing action is going to be stepped up during the election period. The bombing comes as no surprise," he said.

Welsh, a politics professor at the University of Cape Town, said what worried him most was a prospect that rightwingers might now attempt to assassinate a political

figure, having failed through past "low-key" sabotage to derail the poll ending three centuries of white domination.

"The thing that is scaring me most of all is the possibility that a major political player is going to be assassinated. Even at this late stage that could throw things into disarray."

"This bombing, which appears aimed at the ANC, does represent the first attempt to assassinate ANC people and that's disturbing," said Welsh.

He said while right-wing General Constand Viljoen had drawn most of the right's teeth by taking his Freedom Front party into the elections, there were still enough "dangerous characters" willing to do whatever they could to disrupt the transition to democracy.

"There are dangerous characters not known to the police... troglodytes in the real sense... they are far more lethal than would have been Zulu tribesmen armed with spears if Inkatha had not joined the electoral process."

Welsh said he believed there could be dozens of right-wing cells operating in South Africa. "These are not the AWP's (Afrikaner Resistance Movement's) weekend cowboys. These are groups the police have found it very difficult to infiltrate."

Political scientist Robert Schrire said the bombing could mean one of two things - the dying gasp of the ultra right, or the start of a major subversion campaign aimed at an ANC-led state.

"I think it is the former. The right appears to have been keeping its powder dry for a final effort and this appears to be it. We can expect more such attacks but the right has left it far too late to make any real impact," said Schrire.

## UN consolidate Gorazde truce, remove wounded

SARAJEVO (AP) - UN troops began evacuating the wounded and consolidating a truce yesterday in Gorazde, where peacekeepers said besieging Serbs were finally pulling back as demanded by NATO.

Bosnian government radio reported two people killed and 15 wounded by Serb sniper fire during the day. There was also sporadic mortar fire and a Serb infantry attack in apparent violation of a cease-fire and the NATO ultimatum.

The situation quieted as the day wore on, according to UN spokesman Maj. Eric Chaperon. He said Serbs were respecting the cease-fire and the requirement to withdraw beyond 3 kilometers from Gorazde's center.

About 200 peacekeepers began fanning out around Gorazde after arriving late Saturday night. Another 300 peacekeepers due to arrive yesterday were held up at Sarajevo airport.

NATO issued an ultimatum Friday to the Serbs to stop the assault or face airstrikes, and gave them until early yesterday to pull back from the center of town.

"Virtually all of the ultimatum has been complied with," US Secretary of State Warren Christopher said in an interview. "I think it is prudent to give them the opportunity to withdraw."

Christopher said he would go to Europe today to meet with the foreign ministers of Britain and France. "We will be monitoring it very closely. We have been disappointed before," he said.

Gorazde, the heart of a mainly

Muslim enclave in eastern Bosnia, has been the target of a three-week Bosnian Serb offensive that has killed at least 710 people and wounded 1,970. The region stands in the way of Bosnian Serb goals to link up captured lands along the Serbian border.

By early yesterday evening, six UN helicopters had brought about 40 wounded, including several children, to Sarajevo from Gorazde. While UN officials were happy to start the evacuation, they were angered by a Serb demand that the helicopters land at a Serb checkpoint while flying to and from Gorazde.

"If we wait and wait, people will be dying for lack of medical care," said Dr. Genevieve Begkoyian of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Many of the evacuees were amputees or had serious head injuries.

The evacuations were needed because Gorazde's hospital has been badly damaged by the Serb onslaught. It reportedly has no heat, electricity, water, bandages or anesthetics.

The top UN official for former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, said in a statement after the 2:01 a.m. NATO deadline that the situation did not require airstrikes despite earlier Serb shelling.

The UN had turned down a NATO request at about midday Saturday for authorization to bomb.

A 14-truck UN relief convoy carrying nearly 90 tons of food to Gorazde left Belgrade early yesterday. Bosnian Serbs blocked it at Dobrun, northeast of Gorazde.

### WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

#### Australian plane ditches

SYDNEY - A DC-3 twin-engine propeller plane had engine trouble, ditched into water and sank after takeoff from Sydney's main airport, injuring all 25 people aboard, officials said. Helicopters and a fleet of fishing boats rescued all passengers and crew members before the plane filled with water and sank within 15 minutes to the bottom of Botany Bay, south of the city, police said. Those aboard were hospitalized but none were seriously injured. (AP)

#### Burundi situation deteriorates

BUJUMBURA - Diplomats and aid workers said they feared a sudden upsurge of violence in Rwanda's neighbour Burundi where insecurity is worsening daily.

They said a government deadline for people to hand in all illegal weapons before 6 p.m. yesterday was expected to be widely ignored.

Passage of the deadline might spark fresh violence between the Tutsi-dominated military and gunmen from the Hutu majority - the same tribes who have plunged Rwanda into bloody turmoil. (Reuters)

#### Mourners throng to honor Nixon

YORBA LINDA, Calif. - Mourners from around the world left red roses, burning candles and cards at the Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace in memory of the 37th president of the United States. "We just feel very sad that a great man has died," said Bryce Woodbury of Sacramento, who visited the museum with his wife. "He's our best friend because he set up a new relationship," said Zhou Jie, a businessman from Chengdu, China. Zhou was in a delegation of Chinese businessmen who heard of Nixon's death while they were in Southern California. Tour leader Li Yee-Jen said Nixon will be remembered in China for "friendship-gate," not Watergate. The library itself was closed out of respect for Nixon's death Friday night in New York at age 81. (AP)

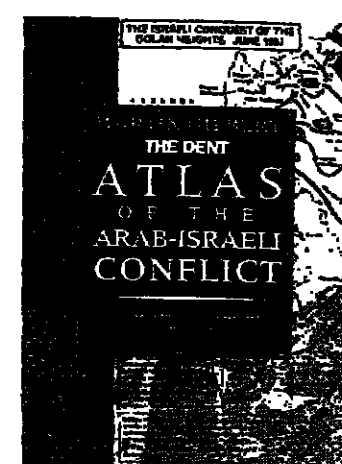
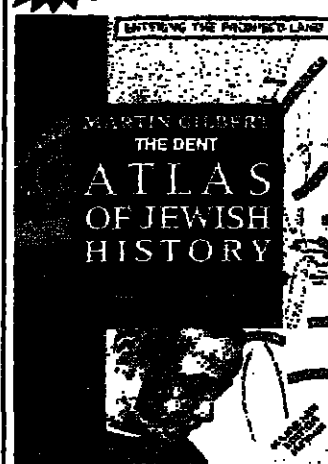
#### North Korea plays for time

VIENNA - North Korea's offer to let international inspectors witness refuelling of its main atomic reactor comes with a time limit and may be less promising than it seems, diplomatic sources said.

The UN nuclear safeguards agency said it was awaiting a more detailed offer before sending inspectors.

Diplomats involved in the row over North Korea's suspected nuclear bomb project fear that, after months of stonewalling capped by an abortive mission in March, North Korea could now be simply trying to stampede the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) into a rush inspection, once again incomplete. (Reuters)

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## The rush to sign

**W**ISELY, the government is denying the reports emanating from yesterday's cabinet meeting that there are differences between Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres over the negotiations with the PLO. The impression of a substantive disagreement between these two leading figures can only hurt the Israeli position in the negotiations. Nor is there any doubt that Rabin and Peres, along with the whole cabinet, are united in their eagerness to sign an agreement with the PLO as soon as possible. They are all too aware that delay will erode popular support for the government's policies.

But some members of the government, including Rabin, seem to be troubled by the fact that too much is being left to post-signing improvisation. Had they been convinced of the PLO's ability to live up to the agreement's security provisions, they might have considered such improvisation acceptable. But the daily incidents of terrorism make it clearer than ever that even if Yasser Arafat himself wishes to keep the peace once the army withdraws, he is not going to be able to do so. The prospect of a new wave of terrorism, against which the security services will be significantly less effective after withdrawal, is what gives some in the government pause.

Nor has it been made clear to members of the cabinet how the myriad arrangements are going to work. For example, the completion of the security fences separating the settlements in the Gaza District from the designated self-rule areas is still 10 months away. Even a small breach in an existing fence around Neveh Dekalim, created by a wind storm, enabled two terrorists to assault and stab a woman near her home on Saturday. Yesterday's demonstrations by residents of these areas were hardly unexpected. They know that if the army withdraws, their security will be even more precarious than it is today.

Nor is it clear how free travel by Palestinians between Gaza and Jericho can be maintained if the government imposes a "closure" to prevent the entry of Palestinians into Green Line Israel. Such anti-terrorist measures will become meaningless. Once self-rule Palestinians enter the Negev on their way between Gaza and Jericho, there is no way to control their movements inside Israel.

Moreover, the PLO is demanding free movement not only for vehicles but helicopters and planes between Gaza and Jericho. This is reasonable enough within the framework of the agreement, but no controls have been proposed to prevent such craft from

flying over sensitive Negev installations. In fact, the whole question of sea and air traffic has not been resolved. The free movement of ships and planes into Gaza, demanded by the PLO, will make a mockery of the limitations placed on the arms of the PLO "police." Once ships and planes can come in, tanks and missiles can come in too.

Nor has it been explained how the security services intend to handle the release of 5,000 prisoners. To state that those who "have blood on their hands" will not be released is of little comfort. The fact is that all these prisoners were arrested for terrorist activity. To flood the territories - not only Gaza and Jericho, but Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria - with these veterans of the terrorist war against Israel is hardly a disincentive to the terrorists now at large.

The government has chosen to conduct the negotiations in almost total secrecy, which may be the only way to achieve results. But it would be folly to assume that once the agreement is signed everything will fall into place. It is no secret, for instance, that the construction of a road to bypass Jericho has not yet begun - which means that after the withdrawal there will be no safe way to travel between Jerusalem and the Jordan valley and Tiberias.

Nor is it a secret that the border installations, those intricate inspection points over which the sides argued for so long, are not being built. The government has given no indication of how the entry of Palestinians can be controlled without these installations.

Even the agreement's staunchest advocates now admit that the Oslo timetable for the implementation of the Declaration of Principles was unrealistic. It assumed the kind of smooth sailing which does not prevail even in negotiations of fishing rights between Norway and Iceland.

Now the government is told that restiveness in the territories and Arafat's loss of popularity "in the street" make it necessary to conclude the negotiations in a hurry. Otherwise, Arafat may lose so much ground that he will no longer be able to deliver. Or, as Peres put it yesterday, "the whole thing won't go." Unless the negotiators can show quick results.

Leaving aside the wisdom of signing an accord with a leader whose standing among his people depends on his meeting a negotiating timetable, it would be irresponsible to endanger the life of Israelis for the sake of saving Arafat's position. Perhaps that is why Rabin seems wary of rushing to conclude what many consider the most fateful negotiations in Israel's history just to meet another deadline.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### OUTRAGED

Sir, - As a law-abiding taxpaying Jewish resident of Judea, words cannot express my outrage at Prime Minister Rabin's latest statement about the defense-worthiness of Jews in Yeshia. It does not take much imagination for our Arab enemies to understand where their terrorist activities should be directed according to the fatalistic attitude of the government. Nor will they have difficulty fathoming Rabin's attitude towards the so-called final agreement.

During his tenure, Mr. Rabin has had to be reminded time and time again that he is the prime minister of all the people and not only of those who concur with his policies. The same holds true for Mr. Rabin as defense minister.

Unfortunately, history has taught us that a policy which attempts to protect some Jews at the expense of others ultimately offers no defense for any.

BEVERLY ANNE UNGAR  
Tel-Aviv

### ISRAEL PRIZE FOR MUSIC

Sir, - Michael Ajzenstadt's article of April 11 demands a number of corrections and explanations concerning the winner of this year's Israel Prize for Music, Mr. Arie Shapira.

Mr. Shapira is not a professor at the Rubin Israel Academy of Music and does not have tenure, but is a lecturer with a temporary contract only.

The fact that Mr. Shapira won the Israel Prize causes a great amount of mystification and many objections among a large number of musicians and the people responsible for music education and composers in Israel. The award to Mr. Shapira is a political act in the fullest sense of the word. His compositions (which are of marginal value from the point of their creative and technical achievements) do more than hint at this fact. Therefore, it is no wonder that serious musicians are not of the opinion that Mr. Shapira is worthy of a prize, which is the most prestigious awarded to a musician in Israel.

All the talk of a Tel Aviv school and a Jerusalem school is pure nonsense. In the opinion of a large number of people as well as my own, Mr. Shapira has neither proven soundness, thoroughness, maturity, recognition, nor has he to his credit any nationwide or international achievements.

The Israel Prize for Music has lost all its high reputation. It does not confer any honor on its winners, nor do its winners honor it any more.

As for the Prime Minister's Award, this is not a prize, but a kind of scholarship, meant to allow a composer to free himself/herself for a limited time of all other activities and devote himself/herself solely to composition. These characteristics are completely different from the ones applying to the Israel Prize, which is supposed to be awarded to a musician who is truly revered and whose artistic stature is in no doubt whatsoever.

PROFESSOR AMI MAAYANI  
Director,  
Samuel Rubin Israel Academy of Music

Tel Aviv.

### CLOSURE OF THE TERRITORIES

Sir, - No matter which way I turn, I am repeatedly stunned by the decisions of the present government. Its actions are characterized by impulsiveness, lack of thinking through an issue (what we used to call in the old country "shooting from the hip") with the concomitant disastrous results. Thus they handled the entire effort of reaching a settlement with the Palestinians.

Now we have the additional idiocy of closing off Yeshia hermetically with no end in sight. This solution is cruel, collective punishment at its worst, punishing people who by and large are not responsible for acts of terror. It infuriates these same people, rightfully, and plays into the hands of the terror groups. Who is affected by the closing? Workers, farmers, simple people who have many mouths to feed. Paradoxically, I have heard of many cases of Jews living in these areas ("settlers") helping their Arab neighbors with loans and food for their children, because they see their distress and are sensitive to it.

I can only conclude that all the members of the government are so callous and so irresponsible that they punish the innocent. Or are our ministers simply creating facts on the ground, marking off the borders of the Palestinian state that they have prepared for us, i.e. the pre-1967 borders of Israel, once depicted by Labor dove Abba Eban as the "Auschwitz borders"?

CHANA GREENBERG  
Jerusalem.

### DISGRACEFUL PROPOSAL

Sir, - On April 6, you reported on an Israeli Finance Ministry offer of NIS 22.5 million in grants for Jewish education projects in the Diaspora. This proposal was described by an official here as a "fulfillment of Yossi Beilin's dream, that Israel will start donating to the Diaspora," and "kind of silly" by an official in America. The rest of the article indicated that this grant was not well thought out or coordinated.

Indeed, the proposal is a disgrace. In a year when Israel's own highest educational institutions were crippled for months for lack of funds, it is inconceivable that millions should be offered to recipients who are not needy. Even when the universities are functioning on schedule, there is a clear lack of grants, scholarships and financial aid. The government does provide financial help for new immigrants, but it has been struggling to keep up with recent immigration trends. Embarrassingly, even less aid is available to native Israelis, and private sector scholarships are practically nonexistent.

Few students are free to pursue their studies without concern for financial upkeep. This negatively affects the entire university atmosphere, as students spend study time working. Yossi Beilin's dream should be to perfect the educational system here in Israel and have students from the Diaspora coming here to study.

REUBEN BEISER  
Jerusalem.



## Israel's ally, not friend

MOSHE ZAK

**D**URING a tour of the Golan Heights in 1967, Richard Nixon told ambassador Shlomo Argov: "If I were an Israeli, I wouldn't come down from the Heights."

Seven years later, at a state dinner in Damascus, president Nixon promised President Hafez Assad that he would work toward returning the Heights to Syrian control. During the Yom Kippur War he ordered the airlift of weapons to Israel. But, at the same time, he tried to block the initiative by senator Henry Jackson to provide half a billion dollars in aid to Israel.

In 1974, he warned the Arabs that if they didn't drop oil prices, he would halt American diplomatic efforts to resolve the Israel-Arab conflict - implying that American intervention in the region following the Yom Kippur War was aimed, in part, at appeasing the Arabs.

After his first meeting with Nixon in 1969, Golda Meir declared: "We have a very good friend in the White House." This came in gratitude for Nixon's promises to supply Phantom fighters and other military aid to Israel.

But Nixon wasn't a friend. He was an ally, with no sentimental attachment to Israel. His support in our toughest hours came out of a recognition that such actions were in America's interests.

Nixon didn't try to pass himself off as a lover of Jews and Israel. On the contrary, the White House tapes, published as a result of the Watergate scandal, reveal remarks that weren't very sympathetic to the Jews.

While Nixon didn't have the same warm feelings toward Israel that Ronald Reagan had, he appreciated its tough stand against the Soviet allies in the Middle East.

In his memoirs, Prime Minister Rabin recalls a meeting he, as ambassador to the US, and foreign minister Abba Eban had at the White House in 1970.

Regarding Israeli bombing raids deep behind Egyptian lines, Nixon reminded them of his position that Israel should hit the Egyptians as hard as they could. He added that he was pleased every time he heard

Israel had gone into Egyptian territory and hit them hard.

Nixon appreciated the resolve of the Israeli public in its struggle against the Soviet weaponry in Egyptian hands, at a time when the American public was showing weakness in the face of Soviet arms in Vietnamese hands.

### When American Jews angered him, Nixon tried to take revenge against Israel

At the start of his first term as president, Nixon tried to establish a dialogue with Moscow as a means of imposing a solution to the Israel-Arab conflict. Only after talks with the Soviets broke down, did he change direction.

"His administration went so far as to 'provide maps and smart bombs' to help Israel bomb Egypt. 'Have you ever thought of attacking the Russians?' he once asked the Israeli ambassador. Later, he was disappointed to learn that the Israeli public had caught the Americans' 'Vietnam symptoms' and was reluctant to confront the Soviet personnel manning missile batteries in Egypt. He slowed up US efforts to resupply Israel's lost jet fighters, until IAF pilots downed five Soviet fighters over the Suez Canal.

HIS RELATIONS with Israel were part global policy aimed at not granting any advantage to the Soviets and their clients anywhere in the world. In 1970, for example, the US and Israel teamed up to repel Syria's invasion of Jordan. The IDF concentrated its troops on the border and the US exerted diplomatic pressure on Moscow.

In August 1970, when Nixon tried to persuade Golda Meir to

agree to a cease-fire with Egypt along the Suez Canal, he promised that Israel would not have to withdraw a single soldier until the Arabs agreed to a peace treaty. But in 1974, in the wake of the oil crisis, he gave the order to warn Israel that all US military aid would be cut off unless it agreed to a more significant withdrawal from the Golan Heights for the sake of the disengagement agreement.

No one can take from Nixon his revolutionary accomplishments in foreign policy. These arose from a cool, calculated approach. But when it came to Israel, he was sometimes prone to irrational outbursts. On more than one occasion, his relations with this country were affected by his anger at American Jews. This anger arose from a pre-conceived notion about Jews.

Every time he got angry at American Jews he would come up with recommendations for punishing Israel. After Jews in Chicago angered him by demonstrating against visiting French president Pompidou, he sent a memo to his aides: We must warn Israel off America aid. A few hours later, he changed his mind.

When he discovered that Jewish congressmen were at the forefront of the move to impeach him, he tried to take revenge against Israel. Only a few days before his resignation, he ordered his aides to draft a document for his successor's signature, ordering a total cut-off of aid to Israel.

Henry Kissinger made sure that this order would not be signed by Gerald Ford. Still, Kissinger noted in his memoirs:

"And yet when all was said and done, in every crisis Nixon stood by Israel more firmly than almost any other president save Harry Truman. He admired Israeli guts. He respected Israeli leaders' tenacious defense of their national interest. He considered their military powers an asset for the democracies." Regardless of his intentions, when it came to Israel, Nixon left a positive balance sheet.

The writer, a veteran journalist, comments on public affairs.

## Rabin's 'hole in the head'

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

**T**HERE appears to be some confusion over the political implications of Haim Ramon's decision to run for the Histadrut secretary-generalship at the head of a list made up of a group from Labor, the Citizens' Rights Movement, Mapam and Shas.

That confusion is at least partially understandable. Although Ramon and his colleagues formally insist they haven't left Labor, the party's constitution lays down that anyone running in an election against the official Labor candidates is automatically expelled from the party. Whether or not the expulsions prove permanent will largely depend on how Ramon's list does in the Histadrut elections, and that is impossible to forecast.

Should Ramon win, or come in a close second, Labor will have to decide whether it wishes to mend its fences with him or risk what it most fears: the emergence of a new Democratic Movement for Change (the party formed just before the 1977 elections, partially responsible for Labor's bitter defeat).

Should Ramon do badly in the elections, he and his colleagues will either crawl back into the Labor Party, join Meretz or vanish from the political arena.

A second confusing issue is what Meretz and Shas are doing on a single list. Why each has decided to go with Ramon is clear: Meretz supports him ideologically; Shas believes he will win. Most commentators argue that the close personal friendship between Der'i and "Haimke" also played a vital role.

But what confuses people most is how Ramon's move will affect the peace process. In the short run, it will have no

effect. Both before April 21 (when Labor dispatched its expulsion letters to Ramon and his colleagues) and after, the same number of MKs - 61 - automatically support the government's peace process.

Haim Ramon, Amir Peretz and Just how will The Ramon Affair affect the peace process?

### Just how will The Ramon Affair affect the peace process?

Shmuel Avital aren't going to start voting with the opposition against the peace process. Their move had nothing to do with the peace process, but with personal ambition and their belief that Labor will lose the next elections unless it starts stressing social issues more and reforming the Histadrut in earnest.

NEVERTHELESS, some Laborites are arguing that, in the longer term, Ramon's move could have a negative effect on the peace process.

From the moment Rabin formed his government in July 1992, they say, he has been eager to bring Tsomet, and possibly also the National Religious Party, into the government.

As a result of Ramon's move, and the decision of the CRM and Mapam to join him, Rabin is even more eager to expand the coalition. After the agreement with the

PLO is finally signed, the prime minister is likely to make greater efforts than before to bring the two right-wing parties (and possibly Yit'ud, the Tsomet split-off) into the government at almost any price.

If this happens, the chances of the second stage of the peace process with the Palestinians being concluded before the 1996 elections will be lessened.

This scenario doesn't seem likely. Furious as Rabin may be with Meretz and Ramon, bewildered as he may be by finding "Der'i and Shula" together on a single list, he knows that it is the future of the peace process that will determine whether he goes down into history as a great prime minister or as a total failure.

Therefore, he cannot afford to expand his coalition at the expense of support from Meretz and Ramon's trio.

There is no doubt that Rabin needs the "Ramon affair" like a hole in the head just now. That said, he himself has been largely responsible for its getting completely out of hand.

Had Rabin been firmer with Histadrut Secretary-General Haim Haberfeld and insisted on a severing of the automatic link between Histadrut and Kuppah Holim membership before Ramon resigned from the government, and had he urged Labor Party Secretary-General Nissim Zvili to set aside his personal animosity toward Ramon, the whole mess could have been avoided.

But what was done cannot be undone. Now we'll have to wait and see what happens on May 10.

The writer is editor of the Labor movement monthly, Spectrum.

## Sorry team

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

**W**ITH the debacle in Gorazde, President Clinton's conduct of foreign policy passes from inept to disgraceful. No administration since World War II can match this one for incompetence.

The US mounts two air strikes that cause risible damage - and overruns the town it had said it would protect.

Its first reaction (characteristically, since reversed) to Serb defiance is to signal a readiness to begin lifting the economic sanctions against the Serbs if they cease fire. What policy there is can be characterized as confusion in the service of cravenness.

Britain's Lord Carrington resigned when the Falklands were invaded, although he was not directly responsible. "There has been a British humiliation," he said. "I think I ought to take responsibility for it." Men of principle have a sense of ministerial responsibility. And responsibility means paying a price for failure.

This crew - Secretary of State Warren Christopher, UN Ambassador Madeleine Albright, and National Security Council Director Anthony Lake - seems not even to

### Confusion in the service of cravenness. That's US policy toward the Serbs

recognize failure. The president, asked about the rout at Gorazde, offers the fatuous "This has not been a great weekend for the peace effort in Bosnia."

In one week of fecklessness over Gorazde, Clinton has managed to fritter away 50 years of hard-earned NATO credibility. Yet his advisers show not the slightest recognition of the depths to which they have, in less than a year and a half, reduced America's standing in the world.

My position on Bosnia has long been noninterventionist. I do not believe that the US can possibly do what needs to be done at any cost remotely commensurate with its interest in the conflict. The interventionists, on the other hand, see significant American interests at stake and are willing to advocate taking significant risks to secure them.

I disagree with this view, but I can respect it. What is impossible to respect is the administration's position of adopting interventionist rhetoric while eschewing any serious means to back it up.

The Clinton policy of constantly changing objectives - holding Gorazde, sending a message of resolve, getting the Serbs to the bargaining table, supporting UN personnel on the ground - backed by unserious means elicits only contempt. And not just in Washington, but where it counts - from the Serbs in Bosnia.

The secretary of state whines that the Serbs haven't kept their word. (Surprise!) He complains bitterly about their "tangle of lies." He declares petulantly that the Serbs have shown "contempt for the international community." No. They have shown contempt for the US, for the competence of its foreign policy team and its incapacity to stand up to anyone.

WHY NOT lie? The Serbs are acting perfectly rationally. It is highly rational to defy the US and dare this sorry team in Washington to do anything about it. After all, look at the people who defied the US in Haiti, Somalia and North Korea. They are all sitting prettier than they were a year ago.

Robert Kaplan, author of *Balkan Ghosts*, last Sunday in *The Washington Post* made an impassioned argument for deep US involvement in Bosnia. Yet even he is willing to concede that the noninterventionists have one "compelling argument," namely that "this White House, with its muddled performance on national security issues, may not be up to the task."

A kindly understatement. The president, stung by universal criticism of his comic show of force in Gorazde, now seeks to redeem himself by pushing for a more extensive NATO air campaign over Bosnia. Yet even those not sobered by the disastrous consequences of the Gorazde air strikes - even those still undaunted by the prospect of an air campaign in mountainous terrain and chronic bad weather against nimble forces with concealable arms - have trepidation about an escalated air war run by the Clinton team.

Which is why there is a growing chorus to do one and only one thing in Bosnia: lift the arms embargo against the Bosnians. Let them fight their own war against the Serbs. At least that way, there would be no need to wake up every morning worrying about what Gen. Clinton and his armchair strategists have done overnight to the brave American airmen they have so aimlessly deployed in a Balkan nightmare.

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Sorry  
team

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

WITH the debate in Gorazde, President Clinton's conduct of foreign policy seems from inception to be a match this one for competence. The US mounts two air strikes to cause visible damage — and the town it had said it would protect. The reaction is characteristically reversed to Serb defiance to signal a readiness to begin the economic sanctions against the Serbs if they cease fire. Serb defiance there is can be characterized as a contribution in the service of peace.

Confusion in the service of cravenness. That's US policy toward the Serbs

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## From Afar

# An Indomitable Man, an Incurable Loneliness

By TOM WICKER

**T**O many Americans born before World War II, the death of Richard Milhous Nixon seemed hardly believable, even though he was 81 years old and film clips had shown him looking somewhat feeble during a recent trip to Russia. That only alerted older Americans to look for another Nixon comeback.

He had, after all, played an improbably long, large — sometimes unwelcome — part in their lives and time, in a public career that lasted for nearly 50 years after he first won election to Congress in 1946. And he had seemed indomitable (or, to the many who did not love him, relentless), returning again and again to prominence after defeats and a disgrace that would have finished other politicians.

At his death, he had won his way painfully back from the Watergate scandal that had driven him from the White House in 1974 to a relatively respected position as elder statesman, political analyst, author and commentator. President Clinton paid tribute to him as a wise counselor on foreign policy.

Richard Nixon's jowly, beard-shadowed face, the ski-jump nose and the widow's peak, the arms upstretched in the V-sign, had been so often pictured and caricatured, his presence had become such a familiar

If only somebody had loved him, Kissinger once said, Richard Nixon 'would have been a great, great man.'

one in the land, he had been so often in the heat of controversy, that it was hard to realize the nation really would not "have Nixon to kick around anymore."

That famous remark, directed at the press with which he so often warred, was the exit line in a self-proclaimed "last-press conference" after he lost to Edmund G. (Pat) Brown in a race for governor of California in 1962. And that defeat came only two years after Mr. Nixon had lost to John F. Kennedy in the most celebrated, and the closest, Presidential election of modern times.

Yet in 1968, despite those crushing blows, he was elected in another close campaign as the 37th President of the United States. Four years later, Richard M. Nixon won a second term in one of the biggest landslides in American history. He did not seek office after 1972 — probably thought of Mr. Nixon mostly as the first President forced to resign the nation's highest office. And that, no doubt, is how he will be characterized in the thumbnail historical sketches of the future (it may be as the only President forced to resign).

That description is accurate and perhaps fair enough, but it leaves out much about the only American other than Franklin D. Roosevelt to have been nominated on five national tickets, to run for President or Vice President. Each won four times in those five elections, Mr. Nixon capturing two terms in each office.

It does not tell much, either, about the remarkable and contradictory record of a man who won early fame as a determined Communist-hunter, then became the President who conceived and carried out an "opening to China" that ended decades of silence between the United States and the second-largest Communist power. An unrelenting hawk in pursuing the war in Vietnam, he nevertheless, in 1972, entered into the first significant arms-limitation treaty with what was then the Soviet Union.

A Republican and a self-styled conservative, Richard Nixon was the only President ever to impose wage-and-price controls in peacetime. He sponsored and suffered the defeat of the Family Assistance Plan, essentially a guaranteed annual income and still the most far-reaching reform of welfare ever seriously debated. And in 1970, the Nixon Administration — elected not least by a "white backlash" against the gains of black Americans — helped desegregate more schools in the South than had any of its predecessors.

Those future sketches may not even include events in Mr. Nixon's career that have achieved near-mythic status. Even before his epic contest with John F. Kennedy in 1960, his so-called "Checkers" speech, rebutting charges of accepting illicit contributions, was a political masterpiece that may have saved the Eisenhower-Nixon campaign in 1952. It also became the butt of a generation's jokes, and is still derided by persons who neither saw nor heard it, because of its maudlin appeal to public sentimentality.

(The Checkers speech was named after a dog that had been given to the Nixon family, a pet Mr. Nixon said the family loved too much to even think of returning.) The speech attracted the largest television audience up to that time — a record not surpassed until Mr. Nixon and John F. Kennedy engaged in the first televised Presidential debate in 1960.

To characterize Richard Nixon only as a President forced to resign would say little about a career and a character steeped in controversy long before Watergate. He was a tough and ruthless competitor who seldom hesitated to cut corners or engage in questionable tactics, and many opponents never forgave what they regarded as his smears and trickery. Though he made himself the heir apparent to President Eisenhower, and campaigned in that role against Kennedy in 1960, Eisenhower tried to dump him as Vice President in 1956 and secretly sought to thwart his Presidential nomination in 1960.

Nor does his resignation, which was preceded by two years of unrelenting investigation and shrill publicity, tell much about a personality that was clearly withdrawn and perhaps tortured. Mr. Nixon was a rare example of a lonely introvert who rose to the top in the extroverted world of elective politics. The unremitting effort to do so — to convince the public that a shy and withdrawn man was a genial backslapper — must have cost him a great deal psychologically; and it fixed on him the enduring suspicion that he never allowed Americans to see the "real Nixon." He rarely did.

Perhaps partially because of a perceived need to conceal his real self, Mr. Nixon was a secretive man, both personally and as President. His profound insecurities seemed strangely to have been enlarged when he achieved the White House, a goal he had tenaciously pursued, and became for a time the most powerful man in the world. Perhaps he felt he had more to lose; and one reason he tried to "stonewall" the Watergate break-in, leading to his downfall, seems to have been an almost fanatic unwillingness to "give in" to the enemies he imagined all around him.

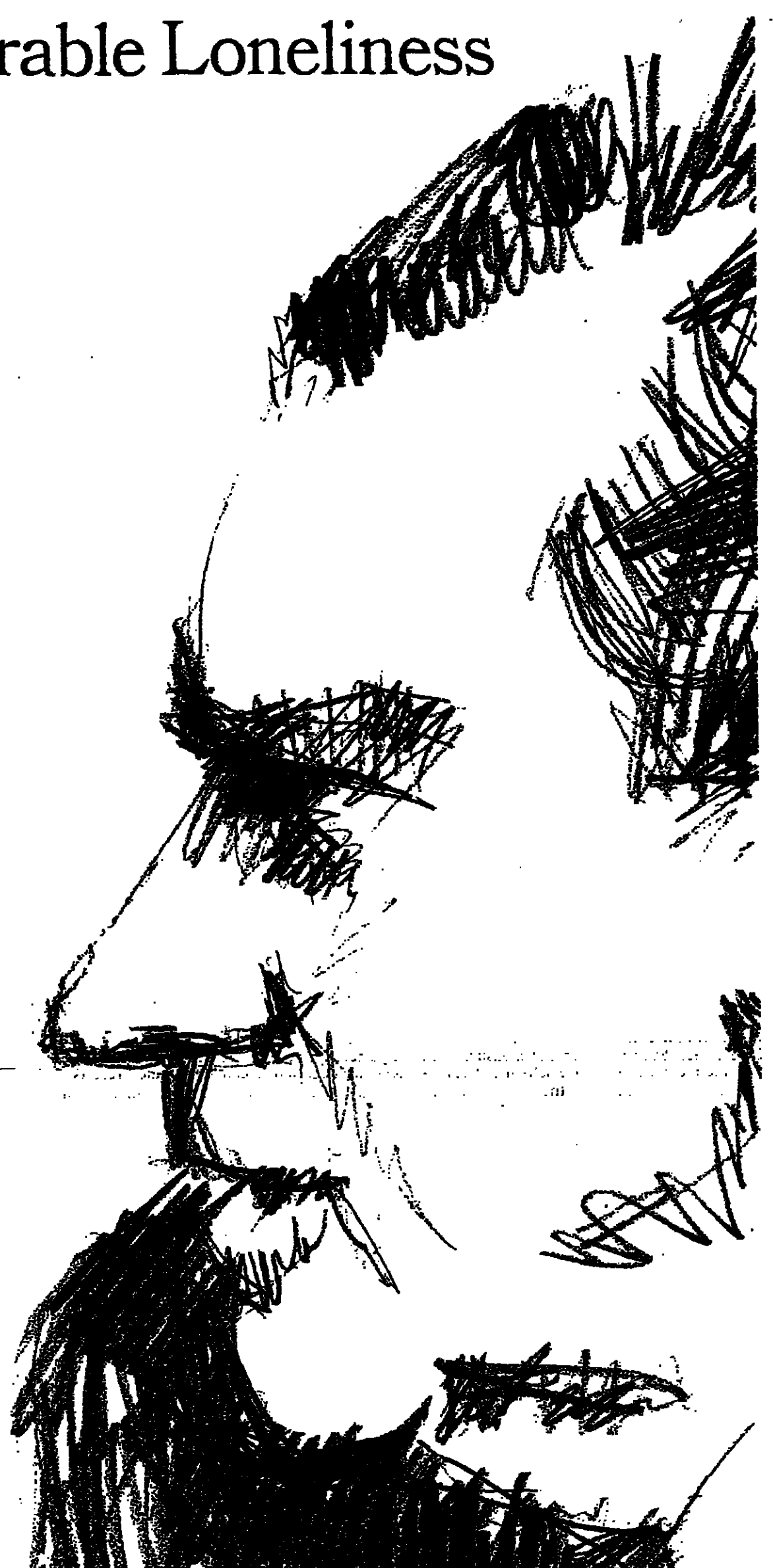
**S**UCH insecurities may have been rooted in a lonely and emotionally deprived childhood. A mother he and all who knew her regarded as a "saint" may have provided less warm motherly love than saintly Quaker examples of determination, hard work, discipline, emotional privacy, self-control. These were qualities that marked Richard Nixon's life from adolescence in Whittier, Calif., to law school at Duke University, to the White House, in the last 20 years of decline and recovery, in his final desire to be subjected to no extraordinary life-saving procedures. In all of that life, he remained essentially a man alone, one who had always believed that people did not like him.

Bryce Harlow, a Republican who knew Mr. Nixon well and served him faithfully, believed that in youth he had been "hurt very deeply by somebody he trusted.... He never got over it and never trusted anybody again. But in life we get back what we plow into it." Indeed, if Richard Nixon trusted no one, millions of Americans never trusted him.

Arthur Burns, whom Mr. Nixon appointed chairman of the Federal Reserve, once wondered "if he ever really had a good, close, personal friend." Rather sadly, Mr. Burns decided not. "A friend like that could have saved him," he said — from his lifelong isolation, surely, perhaps from his inability to trust, hence to be trusted outside his family circle.

Henry Kissinger, whose name will always be associated with Mr. Nixon's, once said to the journalist Hugh Sidey, "Can you imagine what Nixon would have been had somebody loved him? ... He would have been a great, great man had somebody loved him."

Perhaps he might have been. There are those who believe he was. They probably did not include Richard Milhous Nixon, who in the aftermath of Watergate, uncharacteristically near tears, told David Frost that he had "let down my friends ... let down the country ... let down the American people."



G. Ryan

## Can South Africa Do It? ☒ No. ☒ Yes.

By BILL KELLER

**O**NE by one the states of Africa have been liberated from white oppression only to fall into new oppressions of their own making — tyranny, civil war, wretchedness. The failures elsewhere in Africa haunt the birth of a free South Africa. The question that preoccupies many whites and not a few blacks as they approach the country's first free elections this week is whether, after the euphoria is over, South Africa will decline into the division and misery that seem to be the curse of the continent.

South Africa is different, answer the optimists, and they are right. But it is also in some ways the same, counter the pessimists, and they are also right.

Here are some of the reasons for hope and despair.

**The Country is Developed ...**

South Africa is the richest nation in Africa, but rich is not enough. Other African countries were blessed with gold and diamonds, and the wealth was squandered (or plundered).

South Africa invested its mineral wealth to create an industrial society that manufactures steel and automobiles and computers, and produces abundant, cheap

electricity. The infrastructure is generally up to world standards: Highways and ports, railroads and airports, banks and insurance companies. Cellular telephones!

Blacks paid a fearsome price to build this industrial machine. Their families were sundered by a migrant labor system, their labor was exploited, their hopes of advancement were denied.

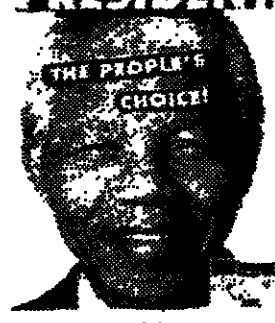
But Francis Wilson, a professor of economics at the University of Cape Town, speculates that industry has also contributed to political stability.

As blacks from around the country were drawn into the industrial heartland around Johannesburg seeking jobs, they also encountered each other, and learned a kind of coexistence that is mirrored in the country's recent, consensus-oriented politics.

**... But Violence Is Endemic**

The numbers are bad enough: 20,000 people (mostly black) killed in political violence in 10 years, 20,000 (mostly black) just plain murdered last year alone.

MANDELA FOR PRESIDENT!



A South African campaign poster.

handy. South Africans kill with their cars. South Africa's hot-tempered drivers kill off a higher percentage of the population every year than any other country for which statistics are available.

**The Whites Are Staying ...**

As in other African countries, whites have maintained a monopoly on the skills that run the industry, the farms and the civil service. But elsewhere, the whites were relatively few and they fled when colonialism ended, taking their talents

Continued on page 4

## Allow Miscalculation, Open the Way to War

By R. W. APPLE JR.

**A**GAIN and again in this century, and in others as well, it has been miscalculation that turned crisis into conflict. The German generals were sure in 1914 that they could win a swift and painless victory; had they not been, they might have acted differently. Likewise Hitler a quarter-century later, who was certain that Britain would fail to answer his attack on Poland as it had acquiesced in his seizure of the Sudetenland, and North Korea in 1950, which apparently misread a comment of Dean Ach-



A French soldier, with U.N. peacekeepers in Sarajevo, checks his ammunition.

eson's to mean that an attempt to swallow South Korea would provoke no strong American response.

It is the job of political leaders, well before the moment of maximum tension arrives, to send the clearest possible signals to their potential enemies. If it is left too late, such messages become ultimatums, and armed conflict too often ensues because issues of pride and face intrude.

At many of the potential flashpoints of the cold war, Washington and its allies scored notable victories by making their determination clear. Squeezed in Berlin, they vowed to defend it and staged a remarkable airlift to feed the beleaguered city; confronted with missiles in Cuba, John F. Kennedy demonstrated a fierce unwillingness to accept Soviet strategic weapons in this hemisphere.

Since the end of the cold war, however, Washington has found it harder to speak with such clarity, and both in the Persian Gulf and in Bosnia, the United States allowed adversaries to miscalculate. In both cases, it can be argued, this contributed in an important way to the shooting wars that ensued.

American policy in the gulf in the late 1980's was rooted sometimes in the notion that Iraq and Iran had equally despicable governments and other times in the notion that Iraq, however tyrannical its government under Saddam Hussein, had at least never seized American diplomats or portrayed the United States as the satanic enemy from whom all evil flowed. Better, it was widely argued in the Reagan and Bush Administra-

Continued on page 4

# The Nation

## Sunset for the Oil Boom And Alaska's Life Style

By TIMOTHY EGAN

**L**IVING off the lard of North America's largest oil field, the state of Alaska has created a modern superstate unlike anything the world has ever seen — a sort of boreal welfare society in which people are paid to live and are given a monthly bonus if they make it past the age of 65.

Alaskans pay no state income or sales taxes. Home mortgages, even for mobile homes, have long been subsidized. High schools inside the Arctic Circle have Olympic-sized swimming pools. Some of the most remote bush communities have spanking new roads-to-nowhere, and there seems to be a satellite dish next to the moose antlers in every other home.

Oil transformed a largely backward state. It brought flush toilets to bush villages and college scholarships to Eskimo youths. On

to accept an unbridled tomorrow.

While boasting of their independence, Alaskans have been spending nearly four times as much, per capita, on government as the average American state. During the 1980's, a decade of minimum restraint, the state went through more than \$35 billion, building among other things a barley terminal that has yet to hold a kernel of Alaskan-grown grain and a performing-arts center that is in perennial financial trouble.

Alaskan politicians, most of them Republicans, are talking about establishing an income tax, or — a prospect even more dreaded — capping the dividend check that every man, woman and child in Alaska receives annually, averaging about \$1,000 a person.

Beyond the immediate financial woes faced by a bewildered state legislature and Gov. Walter J. Hickel is the long-term problem of how to maintain the good life and the foundations of the superstate. All the new schools, roads, community centers, the six-figure salaries for policemen in the bush country, require a flow of income that Alaskans may not be willing to pay.

In contrast to the Jack London sourdoughs who are the mythic basis of the state's self-image, many Alaskans have never known anything but a tax-free state with high wages and endless perks. They are loath to change. Last week, for example, Anchorage voters defeated a proposal to levy a small tax on alcohol to pay for civic improvements.

"The great majority of Alaskans today are spoiled and pampered citizens accustomed to receiving more money from government than they pay to support it," wrote John Strohmeier in his new book on Alaska, "Extreme Conditions," published by Simon & Schuster. Mr. Strohmeier noted that one in five employees in Alaska is on a government payroll.

Even the harshest critics of Alaska's spending binge praise the state for having the foresight to create the Permanent Fund, a state savings account made up of oil royalties that is now at about \$15 billion. State government cannot get at the fund without a vote of the people to amend the Constitution. A portion of its earnings are paid out in the annual dividend checks — a windfall so dear to most Alaskans that the stores all peg their biggest sales to it.

"If they ever tried to stop the dividend



Paul Feyer 'Magnum'

Until recently, the Alaska oil pipeline assured the state's prosperity. A monument in Valdez pays tribute to pipeline workers.

### Can a welfare society co-exist with a Last Frontier mentality? Not anymore.

top of all that, the state has spectacular scenery, which is at its most wondrous in the midnight twilight of late spring.

But now, with depressed oil prices and a declining supply of North Slope crude, the free ride in the Last Frontier state is nearing an end. On paper, the government of Alaska is nearly broke — facing a huge deficit caused by flat oil prices and a diminishing flow from the mother lode of Prudhoe Bay.

Empire builders without a blank check, Alaskans are being forced to go through the same shrinking of the frontier expansion dream that the rest of the country went through a century ago. But a state that still allows homesteading and lets residents kill up to four bears a year does not seem ready

checks, people would rise up in arms," said Thomas A. Morehouse, a professor at the Institute of Social and Economic Research at the University of Alaska Anchorage. "The Permanent Fund stands out as the main achievement of the oil era."

Royalties from oil pay for 85 percent of Alaska's budget. This year's \$3.2 billion budget was predicated on oil selling for about \$18 a barrel, and every dollar below that figure amounts to a budget deficit of \$150 million. Oil has been selling for about \$14 a barrel.

### Deficit and Debt

In addition to the Permanent Fund, the state maintains a reserve fund of about \$2 billion. To cover last year's deficit, the state took nearly \$1 billion from the reserve fund, a move since ruled illegal by a state court. So while saddled with a deficit of nearly \$600 million, the state must also pay back what it took from the reserve fund.

Production is down too. The flow of oil from Prudhoe Bay through an 800-mile pipeline to the port of Valdez peaked at more than 2 million barrels a day in 1988. It is now down to 1.6 million a day, and will fall to under a million in six years. Geologists say most of the 10 billion barrels that can be recovered from Prudhoe Bay will be drained by the year 2015.

The only bright spots have been world disasters or Middle East wars. During the Persian Gulf conflict, prices rose briefly to \$35 a barrel. Governor Hickel proposed a series of projects ranging from railroad tracks across the tundra, to a water pipeline to Southern California.

But the gulf conflict was short, and with the collapse in prices, the dreams of Governor Hickel, considered the last of the original "boomer" politicians from the days when Alaska was still a territory, have also collapsed. No one thinks that waiting for the world to consume more oil, or for oil-producing nations to go to war, will get the state government through the next few months.

Openly, at least, no one hopes for war. "You go to bed hoping that all those one billion Chinese will soon trade in their bicycles for mopeds," said Chuck Logsdon, the chief petroleum economist for the state.

Mr. Hickel proposed a tax on wages, which was hooted out of the Legislature. He has now renewed his call to let Alaska sell its oil to foreign buyers, where it will fetch a greater price. By Federal law, Alaskan crude must be used for American consumers.

Major sacrifice in the form of spending cuts now seems to be an impossible chore for a legislature that Mr. Strohmeier called a "frontier Tammany Hall."

Some steps have been taken. The longevity

bonus, a \$250 a month check to any Alaskan over the age of 65, will be phased out by the end of the 1990's. But going after entitlements of younger voters will be harder.

"The first politician to propose capping the dividend check is going to be out on the street," said Mr. Logsdon.

Tourism and fishing have grown rapidly in recent years, lessening the dependence on oil and inspiring a vision of state that does not look to a gold rush or an oil gusher to keep it flush.

But so much of Alaska has a half-finished look to it, particularly this time of year when the 16 hours of sunlight are melting away winter's cover to reveal the residue of last summer's pork barrel projects.

This year, the question of whether Alaskans are willing to start paying for some of what they have built will probably be up to the voters.

Representative Ron Larson, co-chairman of the House Finance Committee in Juneau, has introduced a bill that would let Alaskans vote on "our choice of evils," as he put it: an income tax, a sales tax or capping the dividend check.

"Alaska isn't poor," said Mr. Larson. "But when we were rich, we spent our money poorly. And now we've got to pay. So how will we do it? I have no idea, but strange things can happen under the midnight sun."

### Police-Community Ties

## Can Closer Links Deter Corruption?

By SETH FAISON

**W**HEN criminologists talk about community policing, Alfredo Compres is not the kind of officer they have in mind.

Officer Compres looked for criminals in the Harlem precinct where he worked, but investigators say he was more interested in stealing from them than arresting them. The authorities say that "Abusador," as he was sometimes known on the street, even shot a drug dealer in the lobby of an apartment building last December after robbing him.

If the prosecutors' narrative, as spelled out in court papers, is to be believed, Officer Compres had so much money socked away that he boasted to a fellow officer that if he were ever caught and sent to jail, he could come out in five years and live well in the Dominican Republic.

If investigators are right, Officer Compres is an extreme example, perhaps the worst offender among 14 police officers caught in the latest corruption scandal in New York City. With uncanny regularity, scandal has hit the nation's largest police force every 20 years for the last century. Each scandal led to reform, followed by neglect, and then another scandal.

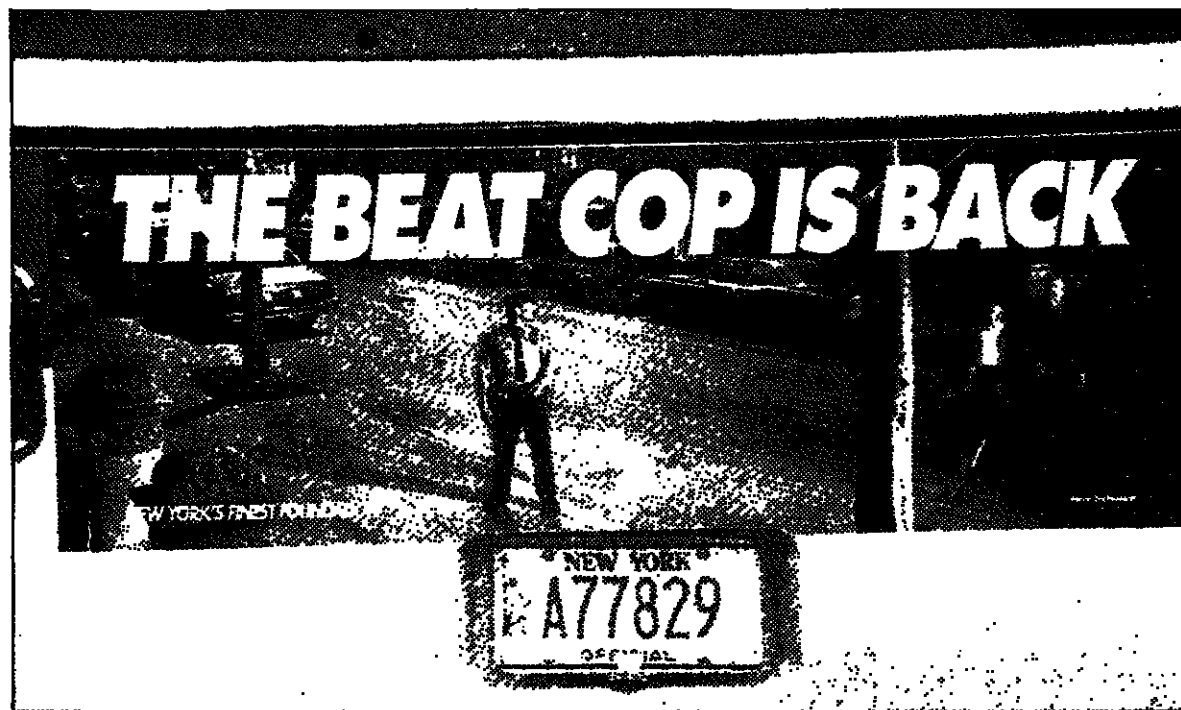
As before, a commission has been set up to examine the depth of corruption and recommend ways to avoid it. The Mollen Commission traced a breakdown in supervision that allowed rogue officers to commit brutal crimes, a breakdown that virtually encouraged ordinary police officers to lie in court testimony about the circumstances of an arrest.

As before, the question hardest to answer is whether the commission will come up with anything that can break the 20-year cycle. A draft of recommendations, reported last week, point to obvious steps like better supervision and increasing the threat of sting operations to catch wayward officers. Apart from those central efforts to combat corruption is a peripheral issue, but one that may be closely watched: Will New York City interrupt its first, tentative steps toward community policing, the alternative — if somewhat loosely defined — approach to policing that has captured the imagination of more and more chiefs?

For 100 years, police forces across the country moved steadily away from the old model of a friendly cop walking a beat, and toward a concept in which a detached professional does not bend a rule because of personal familiarity. It was not only the best way to prevent corruption, police experts agreed, but also the best way to police the cities as they grew larger and more anonymous. "Just the facts, ma'am," as Sergeant Friday used to say.

By the 1980's, some experts felt that too many officers had lost contact with the communities they were meant to protect. So community policing emerged — or rather, re-emerged — in the theory that officers can better deter crime when they know a neighborhood, are visible and can steer people toward social services.

At first, one of the biggest concerns about community policing was that it would induce corruption. A cop who stayed in one place and came to expect small favors from merchants might come to expect much bigger favors. Yet as the latest scandal unfolds, several police experts agree that the opposite is true. "The closer you are to a community, the closer you are



Jack Manning/The New York Times

The New York Police Department marketed the idea of community policing with posters in 1991.

### As New York recycles scandals, anything seems better than maintaining the status quo.

watched," said Sgt. Andrew McGoe, who began supervising a pilot community-policing project in the 72d Precinct in Brooklyn 10 years ago. "Community policing isn't going to lead to corruption, as long as people out there have a way to report complaints."

Community policing means different things in different places. Essentially, it calls for the officers on the streets to get to know the neighborhood and, in a broad sense, to function as social workers as well as cops. It is still in an early stage in New York City. In Houston, San Diego and other cities where it is more advanced, corruption scandals are not as regular as in New York, and the relation between community policing and corruption is hard to measure, according to Lawrence W. Sherman, a professor of criminology at the University of Maryland.

"The idea that getting to know people is going to encourage corruption is not true anymore," said Professor Sherman. "If anything, community policing helps prevent corruption."

But Professor Sherman is skeptical of the effectiveness of community policing over all. Noting that it has not led to any uniform decline in crime statistics, even if it has succeeded in making people feel safer, he

argues that community policing does not concentrate enough on locations where crimes are repeatedly committed. In most cities, he said, "3 percent of the addresses produce 50 percent of the crime."

The New York officers who investigators say formed the Felony Key Club (named for their practice of stealing keys from civilians and robbing their homes) were not assigned to a community police beat. They worked the midnight-to-8 shift in an area plagued by drugs, and they seemed to show little concern for the people there.

Although residents of Harlem might not believe it, the Mollen Commission found that police corruption is not nearly as extensive as it was 20 years ago, when a couple of policemen named Frank Serpico and David Durk uncovered an entrenched system of payoffs. This time, the problem is what the commission called "pockets of corruption."

"Cops will abuse power if they're not watched, just like everybody else," said Tony Bouza, former Police Chief of Minneapolis, who spent 24 years in the New York City Police Department. "It's terror that controls them, not love."

Keeping officers and their superiors on a tight leash and finding an easier way for officers to report on illegal behavior by other officers without being ostracized are two elements Mr. Bouza recommends. Another is to encourage civil suits against police misconduct, as in the case of Rodney King, who was awarded \$3.8 million last week in Los Angeles for the 1991 beating he suffered at the hands of the police.

"You've got to break down the blue wall," said Deputy Chief Michael Julian of the New York City Police Department, who says the department has been demanding too much purity of officers. "We've got to make it easy to come forward."

### 'Re-Zoned'

## Hillary Clinton Meets the Press

By GWEN IFILL

WASHINGTON

**T**HE only puzzle is what took her so long.

When Hillary Rodham Clinton stepped into the State Dining Room and settled comfortably into an armchair beneath a brooding portrait of Abraham Lincoln, she was immediately in her element.

Defending her friends and telling stories about her parents and daughter, the First Lady turned what could have been a bruising tell-all about the Whitewater inquiry into a cozy fireside chat.

Mrs. Clinton and her supporters have often compared her with Eleanor Roosevelt, the most famously out-front First Lady. But the differences abound. Mrs. Roosevelt held more than 300 sessions. Mrs. Clinton had to be jawboned for weeks by her friends and advisers before agreeing that a news conference could do more good than harm.

The 70-minute news conference, when it finally came, was everything the White House could have hoped for. And even Mrs. Clinton seemed mildly startled that she had handled the press she so despises with such dispatch.

Mrs. Clinton, speaking calmly and clasping her hands in her lap, said no one granted her preferential treatment when she invested in the Whitewater real estate deal or when she ventured into the risky world of commodities trading. But she did get a little help from her friends, she said, and made money on commodities while losing money on Whitewater.

Along the way, she confessed to several things that would have earned headlines weeks ago when Whitewater was at full roil. The Clintons are such good friends with James B. Blair, the Tyson Foods executive who placed most of her commodities trades, she said, that Mr. Clinton performed his wedding and she was "best person." And she said she thinks the mysterious Whitewater files found in the office of Vincent W. Foster, the deputy White House counsel, on the day that he died were there because he was coordinating the establishment of her blind trust.

Mrs. Clinton staunchly defended her old friend Mr. Blair, who she said advised her about the commodities market and placed many of her trades for her.

She would have said all this before, she said, but did not fully appreciate the demands of the nation's capital. "I've always believed in a zone of privacy," she said. "I told a friend the other day that I feel after resisting for a long time, I've been re-zoned."



Reuters

Hillary Clinton during her press conference Friday.



# Ideas & Trends

## Culling History From Propaganda

By RICHARD BERNSTEIN

**F**EW people probably remember the brief stir caused a few years ago when a historian named David Irving published a book, "Hitler's War," in which he made the extraordinary assertion that the Nazi extermination of the Jews was carried out without the Führer's knowledge. As Mark Kramer, a foreign policy specialist at Brown University, has argued, was able to make this claim because Hitler used code words to refer to the destruction of Europe's Jews, and he never committed to writing any order to implement the Final Solution. In the absence of proof that he did know, Mr. Irving concluded that he did not.

Mr. Irving's Hitler thesis served as a reminder that even the most tendentious historical views can gain credibility in part because the sources of history can be interpreted in different ways — or sensationalized or falsified or used dishonestly or ignored. And so, the frustrating and difficult search for the truth remains just that — frustrating and difficult. This is especially true when it comes to plumbing the shadowy depths of the cold war.

There is probably no better comfort that can be offered for what must be a disappointment to those who hoped that the collapse of the Soviet Union would pave the way to irrefutable resolutions of many remaining mysteries and controversies. When the empire dissolved, some parts of the largest and previously most impenetrable archives in the world were suddenly opened to researchers. And voices that had long been silent began to speak.

To be sure, some important information has resulted. The truth is, however, that some of the headline-making revelations by former Soviet officials, memoirists and researchers have at best added to the continuing debate, or, in some cases, made the record even murkier and more confusing than it was before.

Last week, for example, Time Magazine published excerpts of a new book, "Special Tasks: The Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness — a Soviet Spymaster" (Little, Brown), by Pavel Sudoplatov, who during the early years of World War II was the Soviet deputy director of foreign intelligence and, from 1944 to 1946, the head of atomic intelligence. Judging from his titles, he was in a position to know the Soviet Union's secrets, which is why his most sensational disclosures attracted lots of attention.

Most sensational of all, Mr. Sudoplatov says that several of the most important scientists in the Manhattan Project, the wartime program to build an atomic

bomb, intentionally passed information to the Soviet Union, or knowingly allowed secrets to be passed on.

The men named by Mr. Sudoplatov include J. Robert Oppenheimer, the head of the Los Alamos laboratory where the bomb was made, as well as the Danish physicist Niels Bohr, Enrico Fermi, the brilliant Italian who supervised the creation of the world's first chain reaction, and Leo Szilard, the erratic Hungarian genius who first thought of a chain reaction was possible.

The reaction of historians and researchers to Mr. Sudoplatov's claims demonstrated that the opening of the Soviet Union, rather than clearing up cold war mysteries, has often served to deepen them, to make for more argument rather than less.

"Sudoplatov makes these charges that people spied, but he produces minimal evidence," said David J. Holloway, a Stanford political scientist whose book "Sta-

lin and the Bomb" will be published this year by Yale University Press. "He's an old K.G.B. spy master who might have his own agenda, his own axes to grind. You'd think that if he was in a position to know, then surely he was in a position to produce some evidence, and he doesn't." Some of the evidence that Mr. Sudoplatov does produce, moreover, seems to contradict his assertions, Mr. Holloway said. The former Soviet spy says, for example, that Fermi passed along news of the successful chain reaction to the Soviet Union at the end of 1942. But a document printed in Mr. Sudoplatov's book shows that in July 1943, Igor Kurchatov, the scientific director of the Soviets' own nuclear program, had no knowledge of the chain reaction.

Mr. Sudoplatov's contribution is the latest of several efforts that promised to provide definitive information about the cold war, but didn't. A couple of years ago, Oleg Gordievsky, a former K.G.B. agent, wrote "K.G.B.: The Inside Story," among whose more astonishing, and generally disbelieved, assertions was that Harry Hopkins, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's closest adviser, was an "agent of major significance" for the Russians. Before that, the former Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev disclosed, in a posthumously published memoir, that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the Americans executed for treason in 1953, had indeed provided important information that "accelerated the production of our atom bomb." Mr. Sudoplatov, by contrast, writes that the Rosenbergs provided no information of major value.

Then, two years ago there was the sensational disclosure of Dmitri A. Volkogonov, a Russian general who headed the official commission on declassifying K.G.B. secrets, to the effect that Alger Hiss had never been a spy for the Soviet Union. Mr. Hiss, a one-time senior State Department official who spent four years in prison in the 1950's for perjury, was the central figure in one of the major debates that divided Americans, with conservatives generally believing that he was a spy and liberals often feeling that he was framed by his main accuser, Whittaker Chambers, a confessed former Communist agent.

But just as Mr. Hiss, now 89, proclaimed proof of his innocence, Mr. Volkogonov retreated from his statement, saying that he had examined only a small portion of the vast Soviet archives, that much secret material was destroyed long before the Soviet collapse, and that he had been pressured into making his statement by Mr. Hiss's lawyer. With that, the Hiss case remains as uncertain as before.

"Some questions have definitive answers," said James G. Hershberg, coordinator of the Cold War International History Project at the Woodrow Wilson Center

**With so many cold war secrets surfacing, don't believe everything you hear.**



A new book by a Soviet intelligence official says that some American scientists, who opposed the development of a hydrogen bomb, were secretly working for the Communists. Here, the explosion of a bomb in the South Pacific in 1956.

for scholars in Washington. One issue seemingly resolved by new archival research, for example, concerns whether or not Stalin approved the invasion of South Korea in 1950. He did. The ex-Soviets have also released valuable information on such major events as the slaughter of Polish officers by the Soviets in the Katyn Forest during World War II and the downing of Korean Airlines flight 007 in 1983.

"We're only beginning to scratch the surface, and there's much more out there to learn," Mr. Hershberg said. "But, in general, there's a need for caution, for not waving the first document you find and saying now we have the truth."



Picasso wearing a dark hat, far left, his wife Olga, center, and Sara Murphy, lower right, during a picnic on the beach at Antibes in 1923.

## Who Was Picasso's Mona Lisa?

By MICHAEL KIMMELMAN

**T**HERE is probably no artist in history whose life and work has been studied more closely than Pablo Picasso's. So it came as something of a surprise when the noted scholar and curator William Rubin announced in an article in the May issue of Art News that he may have discovered something new. He writes that a previously unknown infatuation by Picasso with the Jazz Age socialite Sara Murphy in the early 1920's inspired several hundred paintings and drawings previously thought to have been depictions of idealized women or the artist's wife at the time, Olga. One of the paintings is the great Neoclassical "Woman in White" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Most visitors to the Met who gaze on the cool, calm elegance of that work probably never heard of Olga, much less Sara, and

may wonder what all this adds to their appreciation of the work. But Mr. Rubin's speculations (he bases his ideas on interpretations of the drawings and paintings, not the discovery of an incriminating document, a Dear Pablo letter, for instance) link this phase of Picasso's art to some of the most interesting characters of the time.

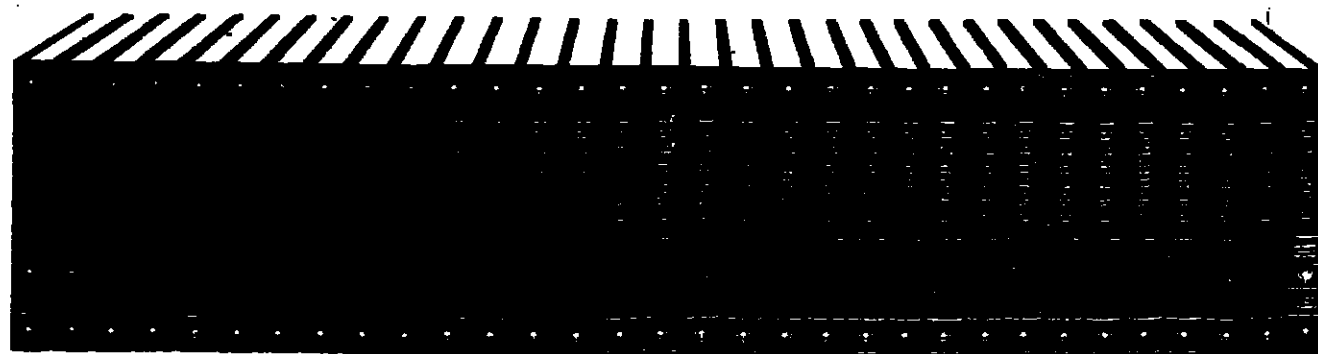
### The Roaring Twenties

Sara and Gerald Murphy were luminaries in their own right, the models for Dick and Nicole Diver in F. Scott Fitzgerald's "Tender Is the Night," and Mr. Rubin hints that the infatuation between Picasso and Sara blossomed because Gerald, meanwhile, may have been having a homosexual relationship with the composer Cole Porter (they were collaborating on a ballet). The value of Mr. Rubin's assertion isn't only in what it potentially reveals about Picasso's sex life but also

in what it says about the close-knit cultural carnival of the Roaring Twenties.

Of course, there are discoveries and discoveries. At the Tate Gallery in London, an exhibition called "Picasso: Sculptor/Painter" (through May 8) is offering revelations in the forms of sculptures never shown before and links between paintings and sculptures not previously made. The show is remarkable and ground-breaking for casting Picasso's art in a new light, helping to elevate his sculpture in importance and underscoring his restless, wry imagination (he used everything from tin cans and spoons to toy cars and curtain rods in the sculptures). Some of the works are slight, but that's not the point: this is one of the rare exhibitions in which the whole is truly greater than the sum of the parts. Like Mr. Rubin's article, but even more so, the Tate's presentation is a reminder that the greatest artists are great because you never really know them enough.

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# The World

## Letting a Foe Miscalculate Opens the Way to War

Continued from page 1

tions, to tilt toward Baghdad, which loathed the regime in Tehran and just might be turned into a brake on the spread of Islamic fundamentalism. If, just before Mr. Hussein rolled into Kuwait, the unfortunate April Glaspie gave him the impression that Washington's goal was to placate him, the envoy was not all that far off base.

George Bush was enraged by the seizure of Kuwait, promised it would not stand and made good on his pledge in a splendid piece of statecraft. This time, he sent an unambiguous message. But would the invasion have happened at all if the United States had made it clear that it would tolerate no aggressive actions by Iraq? It is a question worth asking, even if there can be no definitive answer about so capricious and sometimes irrational a leader as Mr. Hussein.

In Bosnia, the irresolution has been far more obvious, partly because the issues are far more complex in a conflict that is at least in some aspects a civil war. Almost from the start, the mediation efforts of the United Nations and the European Community, led much of the time by Lord Owen of Britain and Cyrus Vance of the United States, met resistance and public skepticism in Washington. Neither Mr. Bush and his Secretaries of State, James A. Baker 3d and Lawrence F. Eagleburger, nor President Clinton and his secretary, Warren Christopher, ever displayed very much confidence in the peace-making proposals or in allied military intervention. Some more junior officials have urged bolder action. Some have resigned in anger at American policy or the lack thereof; others, like Anthony Lake, the national security adviser, have tried to keep boring from within.

But no Serb leader can have failed to notice that the Europeans and the Americans spoke with unflin-



A Serbian woman held a rifle as she tended a herd of sheep last month on the outskirts of a village not far from Sarajevo, Bosnia.

resolution and acted with unflinching irresolution. Some wanted to rearm the Bosnian Muslims; some wanted from the start to bomb bridges and power plants to destroy the Bosnian Serbs' war-making ability; some wanted safe havens guaranteed by the United Nations. The disunity and feebleness of will were palpable for months. And even when decisions were taken, they were incremental: an eleven-hour ultimatum for Sarajevo, but not for other supposedly protected cities, then bombing raids so limited in scope and negligible in impact that they would not have deterred a pack of Cub Scouts.

Even last week, as the situation in the Balkans became more perilous, President Clinton tried his best to tell the Serbs that the United States did not want to single them out for condemnation or to enter the war on the side

of their foes. Perhaps that is true, in the sense that what the United States would like best is a peace agreement in which neither side emerges as the "winner" (if there can ever be such a thing in such a war). But that can never happen until the Serbs believe that the United States has set its face against any further Serbian conquests.

### Reading America's Message

What matters in the short term, at least, is what message Washington sends and how the Serbs choose to read American intentions.

When the first NATO bombs fell this month, those who want the United States to take a stand and those who

oppose intervention, such as Mr. Eagleburger, agreed that there was no turning back — that American credibility would be destroyed by any more timorous responses. Mr. Christopher said the nation had a strategic interest in the region, and others spoke of the moral need to deter the resurgence of European devils of left and right. But the Serbs have heard much of that before, and at the weekend they broke their latest cease-fire around the agonized city of Gorazde almost as soon as it took effect.

This time, the allies say, the Serbs have really miscalculated. Perhaps. But at this stage it is hard for the Americans or Europeans to convince anyone that they have finally found their resolve by any means short of extensive military action. Such is the price of the blunders that have gone before.

### When the Election Is Over

## Can South Africa Do It? No, Yes.

Continued from page 1

and capital. Here whites are 5 million out of 40 million, and while some have emigrated most of them are staying put — and playing a major role in the transition. "Every time independence came in the rest of the Africa, the whites fled to the nearest colonial country — from Kenya to Zambia, from Zambia to Rhodesia," said Eugene Nyati of the Center for African Studies. "Now they have nowhere else to run. We are going to retain a whole lot of them. This is a luxury other African countries did not have."

### ... But Some Whites Are Trouble

Eugene Terre'Blanche, the neo-swastika'd leader of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, is a cartoonist's dream. He sometimes falls off his horse. His biggest military "engagement" was a B-movie fiasco in the black homeland of Bophuthatswana in March, when his racist followers strutted in to prop up the enclave's ruler only to be routed by the homeland police and the South African Army.

But while belligerents like Mr. Terre'Blanche command little sympathy among whites and probably do not pose a threat to the next Government, they could become South Africa's Ku Klux Klan. Through acts of terror and bullying of blacks, they could incite a backlash.

### Ethnic Politics Is Out ...

For all the bluster of Afrikaner nationalists and the blood spilled in clashes with Zulu royalists, South Africa has proven fertile soil for the kind of bitter ethnic politics that pits Hutu against Tutsi in Rwanda (or, for that matter, Serb against Bosnian Muslim.)

Afrikaner nationalism here is largely a disguise for protecting white interests. The Zulu royalists have spent most of their wrath against other Zulus, supporters of the non-racial African National Congress. And in the end, both the Zulu supporters of Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi and the main bloc of white separatists chose to wage their struggle through the ballot box.

The election campaign has included some thinly disguised appeals to racial prejudice. But overt racial hostility is generally considered something shameful. All of the mainstream political parties boast that they welcome all races, and subscribe to non-racialism.

### ... But Gross Inequities Remain

South Africa has whites in soup lines and blacks who live in mansions, but for the most part, as Mr. Nyati says, the legacy of apartheid is the same as the legacy of colonialism: race coincides with class.

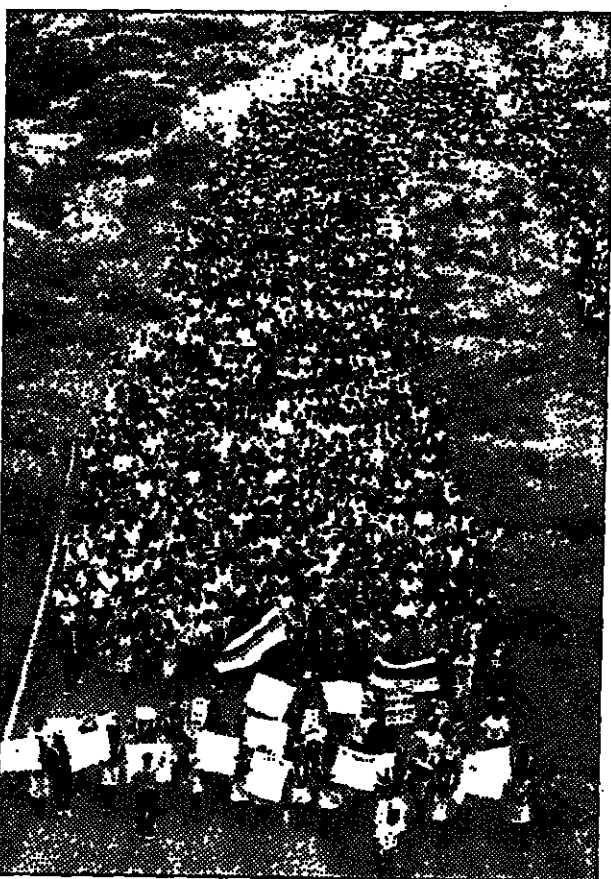
Black unemployment exceeds 40 percent; white unemployment about 4 percent. The average white earns nine times as much as the average black. The differences have been artificially exaggerated by policies that not only kept blacks down but propped whites up on a cushion of job preferences and subsidies.

This is a gulf filled with resentment. And popular expectations will put pressure on the new Government to make quick amends.

"That gap is politically explosive," said Mr. Wilson. It will be hard for the new Government to avoid economic populism.

### Compromise Is a Habit ...

Last week a talk-radio host asked a black eighth-grader what he wanted to be after school. "A negotiator," the boy answered. It is not hard to see where he got the idea. Since 1986 the Government and the African National Congress have been negotiating, joined at times by more than 20 other political parties ranging from the white separatist Conservative Party to the black nationalist Pan Africanist Congress. They have written a constitution, and, in a sense, voted to continue this



Supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party launched their campaign in Natal Province last Tuesday.

Here's the good news: South Africa is a rich nation with deep traditions and little white flight. And therein lies the bad news.

collegial format with a "government of national unity," in which the strongest opposition parties will sit in the Cabinet. After years of multi-party this and that, most of them can already finish each other's sentences.

### ... But So Is Ungovernability

In the 1980's the African National Congress hit on a powerful strategy for undermining white rule: make the black townships "ungovernable." The tactics ranged from killing black agents of white power, like police officers and town councilmen, to strikes and school boycotts, to the mass refusal to pay rents, mortgages and utility payments. What started as a form of protest became a way of life. Now withholding payments is a township habit that scares off the banks and builders and neighboring white municipalities just as they are being called upon to help rescue black settlements from their misery. Even appeals from Nelson Mandela, the A.N.C. leader, have had limited results.

### The Nation Has Political Traditions ...

What political scientists call "civil society" is strong. The institutions that make modern societies

move exist here in abundance: sophisticated labor unions, independent churches, outspoken media, robust business organizations, charities, interest groups, political parties.

The fact that blacks will be electing their first Government next week does not mean they are rank amateurs in the skills of citizenship, or that all they know is protest. They have voted in their unions, in black homeland elections, in their A.N.C. branches.

### ... But That's Part of the Problem

Accountability is not part of the political culture, black or white. In the departing white Government, security officials caught running guns to political parties are pensioned off with a golden handshake, and Cabinet ministers whose departments are riddled with waste and corruption stay on.

Why should the incoming Government be different? Leaders of two black homelands, Lebowa and KwaNdebele, who auditors said presided over orgies of mismanagement and corruption, were initially included on the A.N.C. list of candidates for parliament. (One was dropped — for disloyalty, not corruption.)

### Communism Is Dead ...

Dr. Nthato Motlana, Nelson Mandela's physician and a prosperous black capitalist, says, only half in jest, that the man who did the most to save South Africa was not Mr. Mandela but President Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union. If there had been no Gorbachev, the doctor reasons, South Africa would be taking its economic cues from the playbook that helped make basket cases of Tanzania and Mozambique.

As it is, while the A.N.C. alliance includes the Communist Party, its economic brain trust is packed with market-inclined economists and businessmen. Its orientation is strongly toward the small but influential black middle class.

In black townships the entrepreneurial spirit runs deep, and businessmen are respected figures. A Communist Party T-shirt carries a certain cachet, but not nearly as much as a BMW.

### ... The Temptation of Power Is Not

Last week, the police found four men caged and badly beaten in the basement of the African National Congress's regional office in Johannesburg. Security guards of the congress had rounded them up for reasons that were obscure, apparently more personal than political.

There was a rebuke and promise of an investigation, but the episode contributed to nagging doubts about how devoted the next, presumably A.N.C.-led Government will be to the rule of law.

In another recent case, after A.N.C. security guards killed eight Zulu protesters marching on A.N.C. headquarters, Nelson Mandela personally refused a police request to search for the weapons.

Already the A.N.C. has had minor skirmishes with human rights groups over its support for detention without trial and other extraordinary police powers now that power is flowing into its hands.

### One Hopeful Sign: The World Cares

Europe pays little attention to Africa and America less, in part, perhaps, because the continent seems so hopeless.

But years of vicarious participation in South African protest, plus the large and growing volume of trade, have given South Africa an unusual place in the popular affections of the West.

It does not mean the world will bail out South Africa if the new Government founders, but it does mean the new Government will not have to find its own way in isolation.

## Japan's Political Soup Is Gaining Some Clarity

By DAVID E. SANGER

TOKYO VIEWED from Washington, Japan's Prime Minister-designate, Tsutomu Hata, who is scheduled to take office tomorrow, has plenty of crises on his hands: a \$60 billion trade surplus with America, North Korean neighbors with a penchant for nuclear weapons and an economic reform program that has drifted to a halt.

Seen from Tokyo, though, Mr. Hata's coalition faces a far more urgent problem: office space. Over the last two weeks, as Japan's second political Big Bang in a year blew apart existing parties, so many new political groupings formed that Parliament ran out of rooms to accommodate all of them. By latest count, there were 12 parties or parliamentary groups in the lower house, the highest number since 1948.

But the space squeeze is likely to be temporary. For last week the new shape of Japanese politics seemed to be emerging, even amid the chaotic political jockeying attending the selection of Mr. Hata; he replaces Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa — the reformer forced to resign April 8 in a financial scandal of his own only nine months after ousting the long-ruling and corruption-tarred Liberal Democratic Party.

### Let's Be Normal

In the emerging new order, it looks like conservatives of various hues will be in and the old left wing out. And the force to be reckoned with is Ichiro Ozawa, the shadowy but brilliant strategist who with Mr. Hata runs the Shinseitō (Japan Renewal) party.

Mr. Ozawa may be disliked by many for his previous role as shadow shogun of the Liberal Democrats, but he has enunciated a clear vision of where he wants the country to go. It is to become a "normal nation," with normal consumer prices, politicians who call the shots over bureaucrats, a willingness to engage in diplomacy and — the catch for many — a military that can join in international peacekeeping.

Mr. Ozawa is out to destroy the Liberal Democrats, or what's left of the party after he and Mr. Hata led a revolt last summer. And he is out to split the Socialists, now his coalition partners of convenience, who are apologetic about his "normal nation" ideologically but willing to swallow some of it to stay in power.

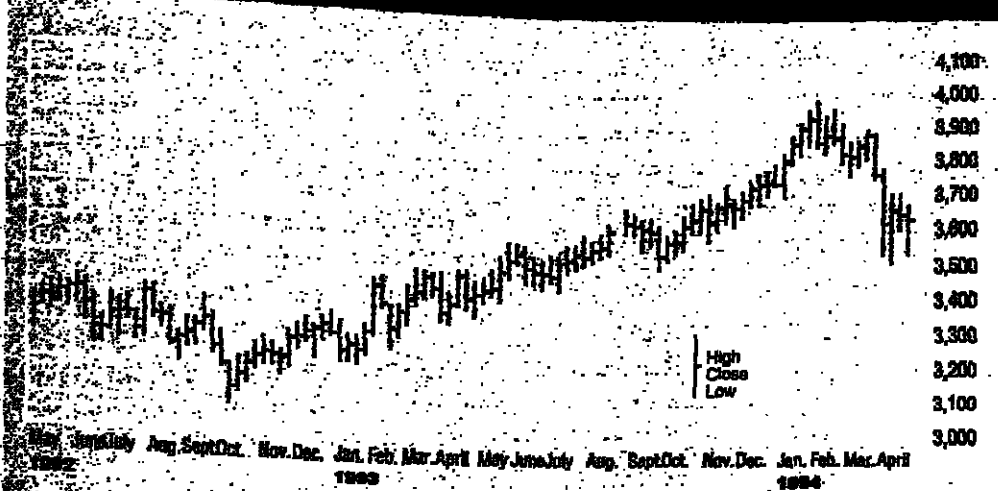
By the time the arguing over Mr. Hosokawa's successor had died down, Mr. Ozawa had already inflicted another wound on the Liberal Democrats, luring about 5 percent of their more than 200 members to defect. He intends to eventually pull more L.D.P. fragments into his orbit, strengthening the coalition enough to throw out the Socialists. They, too, are breaking up — a few to join Mr. Ozawa, a few to join the Communist party, and 50 or so middle-of-the-roads desperately looking for a place in the new political constellation. Most guess that they will form something of a Liberal party, with the left wing of the old Liberal Democrats. Eventually, that may create three parties that can vie for power.

Would this new order make much difference outside Japan? Maybe, especially if one of the parties begins to explicitly appeal to consumer interests, or to debate a change in security policy. But it will take time. Meantime there's good news: With the recession on, there are a lot of empty offices downtown, just a five-minute — and \$10 — cab ride to Parliament.



## The Stock Markets Last Week

DOW JONES INDUSTRIAL AVERAGE



## MARKET DIARY

	NYSE	NASDAQ	AMEX
Advanced	1,028	1,694	291
Declined	1,576	2,729	555
Unchanged	344	809	166
Issues Traded	2,948	5,232	1,012
New Highs	40	28	19
New Lows	470	155	152

## MARKET INDEXES

	Close	Chg	%Chg	YTD %
D. J. Indust	3,648.68	-12.79	-0.35	-2.81
D. J. Transp	1,595.02	-15.23	-0.95	-9.49
D. J. Util	199.25	+5.01	+2.58	-13.11
S&P 500	447.63	+1.45	+0.32	-4.03
S&P Indust	519.09	+1.08	+0.21	-3.91
NYSE Comp	247.95	+0.29	+0.12	-4.30
Nasdaq	722.56	-5.41	-0.74	-6.98
Amex	433.31	-4.98	-1.14	-9.19
Russell 2000	246.55	-3.60	-1.44	-2.96
Wilshire 5000	4,453.78	+1.17	+0.03	-4.38
Value Line	281.05	-2.58	-0.91	+6.40

## INTEREST RATES

	30-Year Bonds	3-Month Treasury Bills	Municipal Bonds
30-Year Bonds	8.0	7.5	7.0
3-Month Treasury Bills	6.5	6.0	5.5
Municipal Bonds	5.0	4.5	4.0
30-Year Bonds	7.22	7.28	6.82
3-Month Treasury Bills	3.71	3.58	2.98
Municipal Bonds	6.10	6.15	5.70

## New York Stock Exchange

## MOST ACTIVE

Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.
TelMex	322762	57 1/2 + 1/2
Chrysler	237418	48 3/4 + 1/4
IBM	217967	58 3/4 + 3/4
Motorola	198631	46 + 1 1/4
Merck	191356	31 + 2 1/4
GM	168888	55 1/2 + 1/4
Ford	148143	55 1/2 + 1/4
Wal-Mart	144747	25 1/2 + 3/4
RJR	130254	6 1/4 + 1/2
Digital	127569	19 1/2 + 3/4
Philips	125436	53 + 3
Citip	119246	37 3/4 + 1/4
AT&T	116980	52 1/2 + 3/4
Promus	107870	32 + 1 1/2
GTE	103923	31 1/2 + 1 1/4

## PERCENTAGE GAINERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
Settel	25 1/2 + 1/4	20.8
Lasmo	6 1/4 + 1	17.0
MargFin	15 + 2 1/4	16.5
TrMx	7 1/2 + 1	15.7
ExideCorp	44 3/4 + 5 1/4	15.1
ECC Int	12 1/2 + 1 1/2	13.8
Outbld	20 1/4 + 2 1/2	13.7
Zamex	7 1/2 + 1/4	13.5
Phlap	6 1/4 + 3/4	13.3
Genetec	50 1/2 + 5 1/2	12.6
SPSTm	55 1/2 + 6 1/4	12.6
SouAfrd	12 1/2 + 1 1/4	12.4
DeanWitt	37 3/4 + 4	12.0
RelGrp	57 1/2 + 5 1/2	11.9
GenCr	7 1/4 + 3/4	11.5

## PERCENTAGE LOSERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
Sofamor	12 1/4 - 8 1/4	40.4
LnStr	7 1/4 - 2 1/4	25.0
NMedia	5 1/4 - 1 1/4	25.0
Reclnt	10 1/2 - 3 1/4	23.4
PiprJaf	12 - 3 1/4	22.0
Proter	7 1/4 - 2 1/4	21.5
Unisys	11 1/2 - 2 1/4	18.6
SurgAt	12 1/2 - 2 1/4	18.0
411A	41 1/4 - 8 1/4	16.5
TitanWheel	23 1/2 - 4 1/4	16.4
Digital	19 1/2 - 3 1/4	15.8
Araczn	11 1/2 - 2	14.8
UDCHm	57 1/2 - 1	14.6
Haemon	16 1/2 - 2 1/4	13.7
20Cnl	15 1/4 - 2 1/2	13.7

## Nasdaq

## MOST ACTIVE

Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.
Intel	385446	60 1/2 + 5 1/4
Micst	213042	91 3/4 + 6 1/4
Cisco	205687	31 1/4 + 1
Oracle	194583	30 1/4 + 1 1/4
Delect	175568	23 1/2 + 3/4
TelChn	173921	19 1/4 + 5 1/4
MCI	171404	23 1/4 + 1 1/4
Apple	159531	12 1/2 + 1 1/2
USHT	156029	43 1/4 + 3 1/4
Novell	154910	16 1/2 + 1 1/4

## PERCENTAGE GAINERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
AquaCrSys	5 1/4 + 2 1/2	76.9
SciTch	11 1/4 + 4 1/4	73.1
Pearle	9 + 3	50.0
CelebEnt	8 1/2 + 2 1/4	41.1
OklaSvgs	20 + 5 1/4	40.4
Marsam	11 1/2 + 3 1/4	39.4
CNL Frl	5 1/2 + 1 1/2	38.7
GardSlnshr	7 1/2 + 2	36.4
PhotSci	10 + 2 1/2	35.6
SubBcp	67 + 17 1/2	35.4

## PERCENTAGE LOSERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
PittStw	4 1/4 - 5 1/4	58.8
CatSemi	2 1/4 - 3	57.1
Stbree	6 1/2 - 4 1/4	42.4
GloRts	5 - 3 1/4	37.5
Spectra	5 1/4 - 2 1/4	34.4
ZollMed	17 1/2 - 8 1/4	32.2
AmMed	9 1/2 - 4 1/2	32.1
SubmSys	4 1/4 - 2	29.6
SodakGm	13 1/2 - 5	27.0
NetFrm	10 1/4 - 3 1/4	26.8

## American Stock Exchange

## MOST ACTIVE

Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.
Cheysft	59399	26 1/2 + 3 1/4
EchoBy	41108	10 1/4 + 3 1/4
ExplA	22846	1 1/4 + 1 1/4
EnSrv	22498	3 1/2 + 1 1/4
RoyalO	19761	4 - 3 1/4

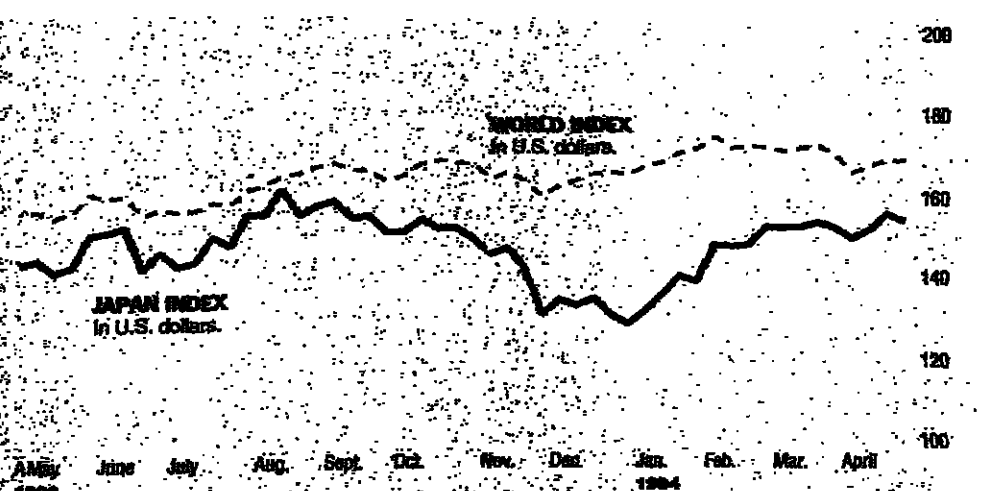
## PERCENTAGE GAINERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
Flanign	6 + 2 1/4	54.8
AndreE	15 1/2 + 3 1/4	25.5
TSX	12 1/2 + 1 1/2	17.7
ColIAH	22 1/2 + 3 1/4	17.3
WistCt	7 + 1	16.7

## PERCENTAGE LOSERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
ShelfM	5 1/2 - 2 1/4	30.5
LorCp	4 1/4 - 1	19.1
NAVac	10 1/4 - 2 1/4	18.0
SalmDEC	24 1/2 - 4 1/4	16.8
Convrsn	6 1/4 - 1 1/4	15.3

## World Stock Markets



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the FT Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and NatWest Securities Ltd. In conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and the Faculty of Actuaries.

## PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS

Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	Index	% Chg.	Rate to \$	YTD % Chg.
Australia	168.60	-1.9	21	-0.2	12	3.54	154.19	-5.7	1.3915	5.9
Austria	174.98	-2.3	22	-5.4	17	1.01	153.87	-7.8	11.9065	2.4
Belgium	167.27	1.4	7	2.8	6	3.80	143.84	-0.8	34.8705	3.7
Britain	191.28	-0.3	13	-6.7	19	3.87	190.93	-7.1	0.6733	0.4
Canada	126.91	-0.9	18	-6.5	18	2.65	126.69	-2.7	1.3788	-4.0
Denmark	252.79	1.9	5	2.3	7	1.04	228.58	0.1	6.8484	2.2
Finland	145.02	-0.7	16	18.4	3	0.89	188.20	12.3	5.4926	5.4
France	170.30	-0.7	17	-3.2	14	2.90	155.14	-4.8	5.8075	1.7
Germany	140.15	2.0	4	-0.1	10	1.66	123.47	-2.5	1.8947	2.5
Hong Kong	374.20	-4.8	23	-23.5	23	2.87	371.25	-23.5	7.7277	-0.0
Ireland	187.44	0.0	11	1.2	9	3.29	182.91	-1.2	0.6926	2.5
Italy	91.29	-0.5	15	33.1	1	1.57	110.55	26.1	1621.5	5.6
Japan	155.77	-1.3	2	19.7	2	0.79	102.06	11.2	103.65	7.7
Malaysia	1795.10	-4.9	24	-17.5	22	1.34	505.92	-17.6	2.6902	0.1
Mexico	488.29	2.5	2	1.6	8	0.76	680.30	-18.5	3.367	-7.8
Netherlands	202.37	-0.1	12	1.6	8	1.31	175.90	-0.3	1.9044	2.0
New Zealand	65.58	0.1	10	-3.4	15	3.91	60.79	-5.7	1.7487	2.4
Norway	192.90	-0.5	14	7.4	5	1.72	192.49	5.0	1.5598	3.2
Singapore	243.95	13.8	1	-8.7	21	2.36	258.87	3.3	4.855	-11.6
South Africa	198.24	1.8	6	-0.1	11	4.10	145.49	-3.6	137.925	3.6
Spain	198.24	0.3	9	8.3	4	1.58	248.53	2.6	7.8904	5.6
Sweden	212.77	0.3	8	-0.8	13	1.68	141.54	-4.0	1.4378	3.3
Switzerland	158.79	-1.4	20	-3.9	16	2.92	182.41	-3.9		
United States	182.41	0.4								

## COMPOSITE INDEXES

	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank
Europe	167.84	0.0		-1.0	
Europe/Pacific	165.52	-0.8		6.7	
World	170.51	-0.3		2.0	

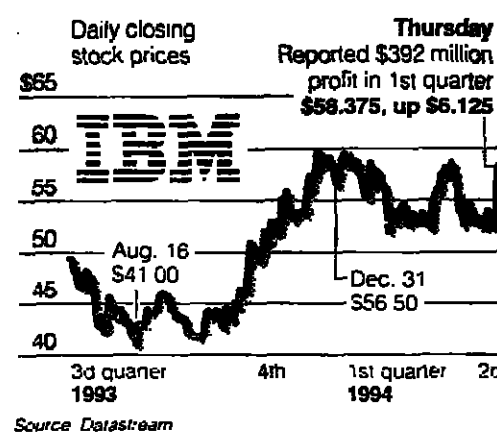
Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close.

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## The Economy

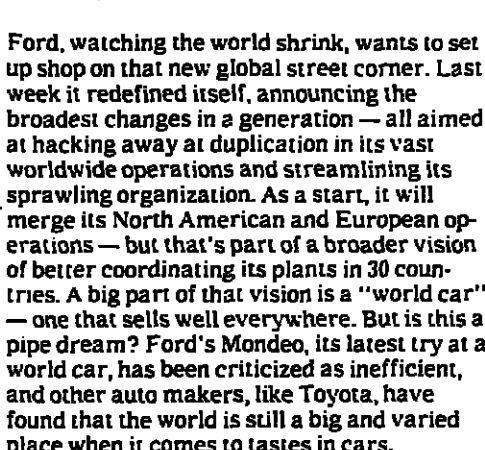
## Could That Be I.B.M. Emerging From the Tar Pits?

It made good copy: the tale of a dinosaur that failed to keep up with the times and was clearly headed for the high-tech tar pits. But I.B.M., it seems, decided that it wasn't too pleased with that script. And last week — a year after Louis Gerstner took charge — it came out with a surprisingly strong quarterly report that says, at least tentatively, that I.B.M. is alive and kicking. These numbers don't say "extinct": profits, \$392 million, on revenues of \$13.4 billion. And, miracle of miracles, sales of mainframes — the very world conjures images of dusty bones in this world of miniaturization — aren't doing as badly as they were. The stock market, often cool to good profit news these days, was gleeful, as I.B.M. shares jumped 12 percent in a day, and crept up even more the next, to close the week at \$58.75. O.K., that's not \$170 (August 1987) but it's not \$41 (August 1993) either.



## Ford Has a Global Idea

Ford, watching the world shrink, wants to set up shop on that new global street corner. Last week it redefined itself, announcing the broadest changes in a generation — all aimed at hacking away at duplication in its vast worldwide operations and streamlining its sprawling organization. As a start, it will merge its North American and European operations — but that's part of a broader vision of better coordinating its plants in 30 countries. A big part of that vision is a "world car" — one that sells well everywhere. But is this a pipe dream? Ford's Mondo, its latest try at a world car, has been criticized as inefficient, and other auto makers, like Toyota, have found that the world is still a big and varied place when it comes to tastes in cars.



## The Greening of the G.D.P.

The gross domestic product supposedly tells us how we're doing — in an economic sense, at any rate. But critics have long seen a flaw in the figures. Look at it this way: If a farmer plants unweeds, depleting the soil's riches, the farm's output may be high for a while, but long-term damage is ignored. Similarly, G.D.P. data measure only the nation's output, not factoring in whether we're damaging the "farm" at the heart of that output — the environment. So for some time the Commerce Department has planned to come up with an alternate G.D.P. number — not a replacement for the usual number — that includes the impact of things like air pollution and lost trees. Last week it said it would soon release its first such "green" accounting.

## World Markets/James Sterngold

## An Old Hand for Japan's Fresh Start

WHEN Morihiro Hosokawa announced two weeks ago that he was resigning as Japan's Prime Minister, many foreign observers mourned the untimely downfall of the first politician here in four decades committed to deregulating the economy. His revolution had barely begun. That is why the governing coalition's selection of Foreign Minister Tsutomu Hata as the next Prime Minister initially provoked contradictory responses. Mr. Hata is a conservative pragmatist, not a visionary, so some foreign observers were disappointed when his name was first floated. Mr. Hata has said he is committed to opening the economy, but at a methodical pace that does not rock the boat. That, in short, is why many Japanese find his brand of reform far more appealing than Mr. Hosokawa's. "Hata is a professional politician, and he has a lot more experience than Hosokawa did," said Yuichi Matsushita, the market strategist for Nikko Securities. "He's the right person at the right time." Mr. Matsushita said. "His ideas on the need to change things are more or less the same as Hosokawa's, but he's more organized." Jeff Bahrenburg, the strategist for Merrill Lynch Japan, added, "To me, at the very least, this Government is going to be more effective than the Hosokawa Government was in the last few months. I had interpreted the Hosokawa resignation as good news." What that means, Mr. Bahrenburg said, is that "the risk here is on the upside, that things could take off and leave people behind."

Still, even the optimists are tempering their enthusiasm, as was evident on Friday. Share prices soared initially, then drifted back most of the day, with the 225-share Nikkei index closing at 19,964.39, up just 165.03 points. The bottom line for most analysts is that the selection of Mr. Hata removes the political uncertainty that had been hanging over the market. But that still leaves investors contemplating the direction of the world's second-larg-

est economy. Nearly everyone agrees the recession in Japan has hit bottom after a grueling two years. The question is when the upturn will arrive, along with higher corporate profits. Interestingly, the answer to that breaks down partly on national lines. Japanese institutions have periodically been among the heaviest sellers in recent months, and traders said they were unloading shares again on Friday. They were so battered by the four-year market crash that many of these big investors have become gun-shy. Foreigners, on the other hand, have been snapping up Japanese shares at a record pace, more than \$30 billion worth in the first few months of this year. Their optimism over the prospects for an economic recovery has made Japan one of the best performing markets in the world. Over the last five months, the Nikkei index has risen 24 percent. There are reasons to believe Mr. Hata's Government will improve the outlook, at least slightly. He has said that his first task will be passing the long-delayed budget for the fiscal year that began on April 1. Since the budget includes a heavy dose of public works spending to stimulate demand, it is regarded favorably by the market.

## Currency

	Last Week	Prior Week	Year Ago
Japanese Yen per Dollar	103.26	103.50	110.50
German Mark per Dollar	1.6892	1.7134	1.5840
Canadian Dollar	1.3781	1.3844	1.2817
British Pound	1.4886	1.4715	1.5745
U.S. Dollar per British Pound			
Gold	\$371.00	\$377.50	\$348.50
Republic National Bank			

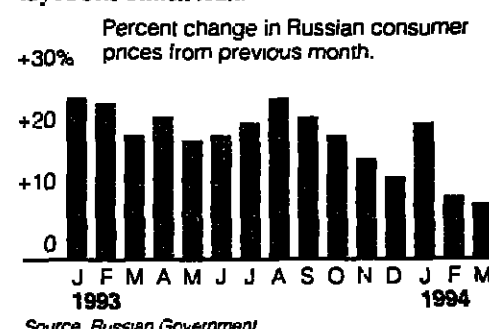
Currency, Friday NY Close

## The Fed Runs Its Own Race

The Federal Reserve and the Administration are like runners in a very odd race — the two have different finish lines. The Fed, in a marathon, keeps its eye in the distance; when it raised short-term rates last week — the third time this year — it was reacting not to any inflation erupting with the daffodils, but to the far-off threat that if things are too good, inflation will follow. But politicians run sprint after sprint — dashing to an election, easing up, dashing to the next. And they know voters are even more shortsighted, voting that week's pocketbook. So the White House is watching nervously as the Fed measures its pace, worried that short-term ripples from central bank moves could upset this fall's elections.

## A Vote for Russian Stability

Possibly, just possibly, Russia's leaders are moving the economy toward stability. After throwing money at industry and agriculture last year to keep them alive, the central bank has tightened the purse strings. The result: inflation, which last year hit a monthly average of roughly 20 percent, is creeping down. In March it was 8.7 percent — still scarcely high for a monthly figure, but the lowest number since market reforms began in January 1992. No doubt in recognition of this progress, last week the I.M.F. granted Russia a long-delayed \$1.5 billion loan.



## Stocks on a Seesaw



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## Richard Nixon

If not the dominant politician of his time, he was surely the most durable. It thus came as something of a mild surprise, when he died Friday evening at the age of 81, that Richard Nixon had somehow failed to survive time itself.

It is, of course, the multiple offenses associated with Watergate for which Mr. Nixon is immediately remembered — the "dirty tricks" campaign, the conviction of so many of his associates for perjury and obstruction of justice and, finally, his own resignation to avoid an almost certain impeachment proceeding. This betrayal of the public trust remains the granite flaw that forever bars Mr. Nixon from the pantheon of great Presidents.

Yet he endured after that disgrace, just as he had survived President Eisenhower's doubts about his fitness, a narrow defeat to John Kennedy in 1960 and a humiliating loss in his try for the California governorship in 1962. By sheer will he clawed his way back to a semblance of respectability, turning himself into an elder statesman and an adviser to Presidents, Bill Clinton included. Throughout this cycle of victory, defeat, disgrace and resurrection he provided Americans with a lodestar for their political beliefs: they admired or detested him, but there was very little neutral ground.

Future historians will find it hard to ignore a man who so transfixed his contemporaries. But what to make of him now?

With one or two exceptions, contemporary chroniclers agree that Mr. Nixon was at his best on the international stage. Foreign policy was unquestionably his first love and there were notable triumphs, most famously the opening to China and the first strategic arms agreement with Moscow. But Salt I was not without serious flaws, and his tortured exit from Vietnam remains hugely controversial; history may give him and his chief strategist, Henry Kissinger, a more modest grade than they have awarded themselves.

Conversely, most students have tended to underestimate his domestic achievements. As Tom Wicker observes in his book on Mr. Nixon, "One of Us," the 37th President was hardly a visionary or crusader. He was, instead, a shrewd pragmatist with excep-

tional antennae and the ability to turn public discontents to political advantage.

The results were sometimes contradictory. Mr. Nixon's "Southern strategy" in 1968 and his appeals to a restless white middle class in '72 helped popularize racial appeals as a national campaign tactic. At the same time, seeing little choice, he ordered the Justice Department to continue methodically dismantling the dual school system in the South.

Though he was no more an activist on the environment than he was on civil rights, Mr. Nixon correctly sensed a growing public appetite for a cleaner America and made that the centerpiece of his 1970 State of the Union address, months before the first Earth Day. His support made it easier for Congress to pass two seminal pieces of legislation, the Clean Air Act of 1970 and the Clean Water Act of 1972. Mr. Nixon also sought to reshape the nation's welfare system in much the same manner Mr. Clinton proposes today; with a little more effort and a lot more help in the Senate he might have done so.

But policy issues do not account for our fascination with a man who combined insecurity and ambition in explosive measure and was equally capable of unexpected kindnesses and staggering vindictiveness. Nor do issues of policy or ideology explain why, at the height of his powers and facing a weak opponent in George McGovern, he encouraged a pattern of illegal behavior that ultimately destroyed his Presidency.

A provisional answer may be found in a phrase Mr. Nixon often applied to himself: "At bottom, I am a political man." He used these words proudly, as if to mock the intellectuals and moralists he despised, but in the end they might well serve as an epitaph. For if they were meant to suggest a talent for maximizing political opportunities, they also implied the absence of any guiding moral compass besides a burning dedication to political survival.

Mr. Nixon would have found such an assessment too narrow, but any fair reading of the record suggests that Watergate was only the endgame of a career in which he lavished as much energy on neutralizing or destroying his opponents as on cultivating allies. Add to that a perfect memory for real and imagined insults, and it is possible to see why he sanctioned the activities that brought him down.

## Mrs. Clinton Steps Forward

As political theater, Hillary Rodham Clinton's news conference Friday afternoon was undeniably a smash hit. She serenely answered an hour's worth of aggressive questions on her complex adventures in the commodities and Arkansas real estate markets. She was also forthrightly remorseful about her earlier resistance to the press and to the appointment of a special counsel.

The First Lady, declaring she had decided to emerge from her "zone of privacy," seemed finally to grasp a central truth that has eluded the White House staff and her husband for months: In Presidential behavior, unanswered questions create a vacuum that sucks everything into it — including the energies of the press, the legislative vitality of Congress and the attention of the chief executive.

It is of course up to Robert Fiske, the special counsel, to determine whether the Clintons' financial dealings broke the law or whether they merely reflected the fluid ethical mores of Arkansas. But from the beginning, the White House's inability to provide a consistent factual narrative of the Clintons' financial history has made the entire business seem suspicious. Mrs. Clinton's appearance, even this late in the game, was a welcome if belated antidote to months of stonewalling.

Mrs. Clinton did not, however, adequately dispense with one central issue: whether wealthy benefactors who did business with the state government were padding the Clinton family income while Mr. Clinton was Attorney General and Governor. She conceded that most of her highly profitable commodities trades were executed on the advice of James Blair, a lawyer for Tyson Foods, a large company that was heavily regulated by and re-

ceived substantial tax credits from the Arkansas government. That might have raised an ethical red flag with some people, but Mrs. Clinton said she saw no problem because Mr. Blair "and his wife are among our very best friends."

Mrs. Clinton likewise insisted that James McDougal, the Clintons' partner in the Whitewater land deal and the owner of a savings and loan regulated by the state, had provided no special favors. But she could not explain why Mr. McDougal wound up losing a lot more money than the Clintons did in what was supposedly a 50-50 deal. Her only real answer was that for 10 years she had no idea of what was going on and that she did not receive "any documents until late in the 1980's." That was a strange confession of ignorance from a woman who had spent the previous hour insisting that she maintained hawklike vigilance over her commodities trades and was deeply concerned with building a family nest egg.

Nor was it comforting to find the First Lady slipping into answers that seemed guarded or legalistic. When asked if her commodities broker might have given her a favorable advantage because of her position, she replied with a lawyerly "There's really no evidence of that. I didn't believe it at the time." Often she denied awareness of events without quite denying the events themselves, as when she said she knew "nothing to support" allegations that money was diverted from the troubled Madison S. & L. into Whitewater to benefit the Clintons.

The First Lady's willingness to open herself to questions is welcome but her performance, however deft, leaves plenty of troubling issues for the special prosecutor and Congress to explore.

### Editorial Notebook

## A Most Unusual Marching Band

In 1943 and 1944, Army Air Corps cadets training at Yale University marched to New Haven's town green every day behind an extraordinary band with an extraordinary leader, Capt. Glenn Miller.

It was wartime. Miller had broken up his phenomenally successful dance band to enlist, and the Air Corps had him assemble bands for its U.S. posts. Miller picked the best musicians he could get for the band at Yale, which he then proceeded to conduct — on campus, where his music filled the cavernous dining hall daily at lunchtime, off campus at War Bond rallies and hospitals, on network radio and, starting in the summer of 1944, for the troops in Europe. To mark the 50th anniversary of D-Day this year, the Yale Concert Band has re-created the Miller band (officially the 418th Army Air Forces Training Command Band) complete with familiar Miller arrangements and authentic shoulder patches on their khakis. The bandleader, Thomas Duffy, a professor at Yale's School of Music, has taken off the beard he sported for 25 years and put on steel rimmed glasses to resemble the popular maestro.

The professor and his "troops" head for England and France next month, and will be playing somewhere over there on June 6, the date Allied forces landed on the beaches at Normandy in 1944. The Miller band went over after D-Day on the Queen Elizabeth. The Duffy band will

Glenn Miller's 418th

Returns on D-Day's 50th

Down, Winsocki" time, "In the Mood" time.

According to bandmaster Duffy, bandmaster Miller was undaunted by Army regulations that said bands have 28 members and one officer. He wanted more, including 20 strings, so he assigned 28 men to the band and the rest to the training command. One of those 20 strings, Bob Ripley, plays cello today in the Boston Symphony.

The Yale senior Syam Gaude, a music major, is Miller's pianist, Cpl. Mel Powell, in the re-created band. Cpl. Ray McKinley, on drums, is played by Jim Allen, a graduate student working on a master's degree in percussion. Sgt. Hank Freeman, lead alto sax for Miller, is the freshman Colby Keith, and Pfc. Steve Steck is the sophomore Else Festersten, one of a half-dozen women in the 1944 band. In civilian life, those 1944 non-coms had played with Benny Goodman, Tommy Dorsey and other big names of the big band years.

Glenn Miller was lost on a flight over the English Channel in mid-December 1944. A half century later, a band of young musicians pays tribute to his talent and embellishes memory with stirring melody on the anniversary of a heroic day.

RICHARD E. MOONEY

## Roe's Legacy Is Hardly Secure

To the Editor:

I applaud you for your understanding of how critical Roe v. Wade has been to women's full emancipation ("How a Ruling on Abortion Took On a Life of Its Own," The Week in Review, April 10). However, I am far less sanguine that its legacy is secure.

Indeed, as Chief Justice William Rehnquist, one of Roe's most implacable enemies, said in the 1992 Casey decision, "Roe continues to exist, but only in the way the storefront in a western movie set exists, a mere facade to give the illusion of reality."

The tragic truth is that the central principle of Roe, that a woman has the constitutional right to terminate her pregnancy before viability, has been severely battered beginning with Webster (1989) and ending with Casey (1992). Many states have enacted cruel and humiliating laws, designed to deny women their constitutional right through harassment, red tape and delay.

The most common form of harassment, now the law in 16 states, is a requirement that the woman be subjected to a state-mandated lecture, often accompanied with photographs, followed by a 24-hour waiting period before she can secure the abortion. Under the Casey decision, this was deemed "an acceptable burden" for the woman. Women subjected to these laws would hardly agree.

Mississippi's 24-hour waiting period has enabled protesters to record the license plate numbers of women's cars parked at clinics, obtain their names and addresses, and harass them and their families at home. Anti-abortion groups have gone as far

as informing a woman's neighbors of her decision to have an abortion.

Just as waiting periods facilitate harassment outside clinics, "informed consent" laws facilitate a type of psychological harassment in the doctor's office. For example, Louisiana has enacted an "informed consent" law requiring a physician to tell each woman seeking an abortion that a list of public mental health agencies is available "if and when post-partum psychological damage requires professional attention." The brochure published by the state of Ohio has full-color, enlarged photos of fetuses similar to those you see on anti-abortion protesters' signs.

The Casey decision's most dangerous portion is the lowering of the standard of review for the constitutional right of privacy where abortion is concerned. The time-honored standard used by the Roe Court was "strict scrutiny," under which a state law infringing on a constitutional right is valid when there exists a "compelling governmental interest" for its enforcement. Casey lowered this standard so that the law could be upheld as long as it did not impose an "undue burden" on the woman.

Thus Casey opens the door for additional state laws that could further destroy what survives of Roe. What tomorrow's male-dominated state legislatures may consider an "acceptable burden" for the woman bodes ill for our daughters, sisters and wives. This is why we need the freedom of choice bill enacted to secure the legacy of Justice Blackmun and Roe v. Wade. DON EDWARDS, Member of Congress, 16th Dist., Calif. Washington, April 13, 1994

## The Out of Towners Meet the Tooth Fairy

To the Editor:

Crimes of violence against visitors to the Big Apple receive sensationalized publication and broad circulation. The story that follows portrays a different picture of New Yorkers, and a more complete picture of their character.

My family — my 5-year-old son, James; 12-year-old daughter, Carrie; my wife, Cathy, and I — visited New York City over the Easter holiday weekend. Outside of Barnes & Noble Jr. on East 56th Street, I noticed James ardently wiggling his first baby tooth with his tongue. I performed "street surgery," extracting the offending tooth on the spot. James was proud and excited that the tooth fairy could now visit him.

The tooth was carefully placed in a tissue for the later arrival of the tooth fairy and entrusted to my wife. When James wanted to see the tooth one last time before being safely deposited in Cathy's purse, his excitement resulted in the loss of the tooth on the sidewalk. The entire family was on hands and knees searching, except James, who dissolved into tears. The tooth, the size of a small southern pea, could not be found.

In the next few minutes a student from Cornell on skates stopped and inquired as to our activity on the sidewalk. He joined the search. No luck.

During the next 15 minutes, a stately elderly woman with a cane, a young man looking very streetwise, a nattily dressed urbane couple wearing French berets, a mother and her two children exiting the bookstore and several other less described but equally caring passers-by joined the search. The elusive tooth still could not be found.

My wife extracted a small pebble from the seam of the sidewalk roughly similar to the size and color of James's tooth. She tried to persuade young James that it was the missing tooth. James instantly detected the

deception and resumed his teary lament.

When I looked up, I was surprised that a circle of New Yorkers now outlined the outer perimeters of the search. They were advising passers-by to avoid the area to preserve the tooth's undiscovered location. Several onlookers comforted James or directed the active searchers where to look next.

The student found James's tooth, and presented it to James. Cathy announced the discovery of the tooth to all present, and the announcement was greeted with spontaneous applause. Searchers and onlookers personally congratulated James on the return of his tooth with assurances that the tooth fairy would visit him. The 20 to 25 people who had gathered went on their way as quickly as they had offered their help. In the confusion, we did not learn the name of a soul who had stopped.

The tooth fairy arrived that night on schedule, and James's rite of passage to boyhood was successfully completed. To all of those who stopped, James asks that I write with his thanks. STEPHEN T. GREEN, Gastonia, N.C., April 18, 1994



## Rich Already Bear Biggest Tax Burden

To the Editor:

Re "This Much Is Clear: Taxes Just Aren't What They Seem" (The Week in Review, April 10): Although you take several gibes at Republicans, you couldn't have articulated their position better. The President's opponents have tried to point out that "the amount that the Federal, state and local governments collect each year in taxes has barely changed in 25 years."

The reason taxes collected remain constant, regardless of rates, is that many people find ways to shift capital and income elsewhere through shelters when rates become unreasonable. Conversely, in a more friendly tax environment, people feel more free to incur their tax share, creating a more wholesome free market.

Tax rate cuts during the Reagan years, though perceived as reducing taxes, actually were offset by substantial changes in deductions and exemptions, negating much of the perceived cut.

Despite Mr. Clinton's exclamation to the contrary, the wealthy pay an enormous amount of the tax burden and have done so for years. The wealthiest 5 percent pay 43 percent of the country's tax bill and the top 50 percent pay 94 percent.

The high rate of 39.6 percent doesn't include the additional penalty for the phaseout of deductions and exemptions for the wealthy, or a 60 percent estate tax. Their heirs may see only 15 cents on the dollar after being taxed at various levels. How much more does Mr. Clinton want to take? BERNARD RICHARDS, Old Westbury, L.I., April 12, 1994

## Reporters Keep Faith With Kurds in Iraq

To the Editor:

The year 1993 was a grim one for journalists, as the annual report of the Committee to Protect Journalists shows. The current year's toll is already mounting.

Having recently spent two weeks in northern Iraq, I would like to pay tribute to Lissy Schmidt, a German correspondent for Agence France-Presse and several newspapers in Germany, who was gunned down together with her bodyguard on April 4. Her reports from the region were always well informed.

In northern Iraq a foreigner entrusts his or her life to the protection of the local people and their self-defense militia. In view of the \$10,000 offer by President Saddam Hussein of Iraq to anyone who assassinates a foreigner, workers for United Nations agencies and nongovernmental organizations, who are helping Iraqi Kurds restore some normality to their lives, travel lonely mountain roads with guards armed with AK-47's at the ready. Even in urban areas, these guards, or peshmerga, followed a few paces behind us.

Journalists seem to be particular targets. During my visit two Swedish journalists escaped death when their untended vehicle was blown up.

These are brave men and women, who are covering the struggle of brave people to survive in a situation where no U.N. peacekeeping forces patrol the front line between the Iraqi army and the Kurds, and where the only things preventing Saddam Hussein from launching a new attack are the threat of retaliation and the certainty that his army would be tied down indefinitely by a hostile population waging guerrilla war, at which the peshmerga excel. In these circumstances, the presence of foreign journalists must be a comfort to the Kurds. ARTHUR J. DOMMEN, Bethesda, Md., April 14, 1994

## Law-Abiding Americans Find Reason to Laud Singapore Justice

To the Editor:

"Time to Assert American Values" (editorial, April 13), on the sentence of caning imposed on the American Michael Fay in Singapore, does not represent the United States. It is time that criminals were punished forcefully for malicious mischief and other violent acts they choose to commit.

Law-abiding citizens have few values that have not been subverted by positions like those you articulate. Three cheers for Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew, who referred to "chaos" on American streets to justify the sentence. I'll not even belabor the issue of what right do we have to tell other countries how to enforce their laws and mores. FLEMING KREEFE, Atlanta, April 14, 1994

of punishment, thinking it nothing more than a severe spanking — painful but deserved.

ABC's "Prime Time Live," to show what such punishment would entail, had a martial arts expert hit a padded bag with a stick several times. The punishment was described as causing excruciating pain and often resulting in permanent scarring. NBC's "Now" gave a more graphic description and included an interview with a person who had been caned.

Various reports have said the cane is made of rattan or bamboo. NBC showed a cane consisting of 4-foot lengths of split, razor-sharp bamboo bound together. When a person is struck a blow, the instrument cuts deep into the skin, causing blood to

flow freely, and produces wounds that take weeks to heal.

The man who had received 15 lashes told of a horrifying ordeal. He described the intense pain experienced during the caning and claimed that the pain from his lacerated buttocks was so severe he was unable to sleep for a week or walk normally. It took a month for the wounds to heal completely. A camera close-up of his scarred buttocks left no doubt about the accuracy of his description.

Although polls show that a majority of Americans condone Mr. Fay's punishment by caning, they feel that by way because they do not understand its true nature.

The U.S. State Department report on human rights abuses condemned this form of punishment last year. Many human rights groups have spoken out against it, but most religious leaders have not. It's time to raise voices in protest. DONALD KNIGHT, Huntington Station, L.I., April 15, 1994

## Celebrity Awaits

To the Editor:

One thing your April 10 editorial doesn't mention is what will happen when Michael Fay is returned to the United States. We can expect to see him as a guest on the television talk shows, with the networks bidding for the right to re-create his story. That should boost ratings, and he will make a fortune. LEONARD COHEN, Scranton, Pa., April 17, 1994

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مكرام النور



## Journal

FRANK RICH

Nixon,  
Big and  
Small

Like more than a few Americans of my generation, I learned to despise Richard Nixon around the same time I learned to recite the Pledge of Allegiance. Yet now, nearly 40 years later, an America without Richard Nixon seems inconceivable and unimaginable, an emptier place. When the stroke hit, it was possible not only to root for him to live but to feel genuine loss at the prospect of his imminent death.

Not because he can be likened to his hero, Theodore Roosevelt, or even his unenthusiastic ticket mate, Dwight Eisenhower. Far from it: Mr. Nixon was the historical black hole into which the higher dreams of the assassinated Kennedy brothers and Martin Luther King Jr. disappeared. But as a cultural archetype who inspired and inflamed the American imagination for half a century, Richard Nixon was a giant, right up there with Billy the Kid, Citizen Kane and Moby Dick.

No wonder he drove major writers like Norman Mailer, Philip Roth and Robert Coover to imaginative feats. Reading Gore Vidal on Mr. Nixon is akin to reading Shaw on Shakespeare. "In Nixon we are able to observe our faults larger than life," Mr. Vidal wrote in 1983. "He turned being a Big Loser into a perfect triumph by managing to lose the Presidency in a way bigger and more original than anyone else had ever lost it before."

The faults that defined the Nixon character include hypocrisy, para-

Living without  
him was never  
an option.

noia, cynicism, spitefulness and self-pity. Open Bartlett's to the Nixon entry and you will find many patriotic epigrams but lines like "You won't have Nixon to kick around any more" and "Well, I'm not a crook" and "When the President does it, that means that it is not illegal."

A thorough "Saffire's New Political Dictionary" reveals the extraordinary Nixon legacy to American politics, from the dawn of spin doctoring to the apocalypse of dirty tricks. His name is cross-referenced with such entries as firestorm, inoperative, bug, chronic campaigner, cover-up, CREEP, enemies list, play in Peoria, plumber, Saturday Night Massacre, shush fund, smoking gun, stonewalling, used car salesman, "nobody drowned at Watergate" and "twisting slowly, slowly in the wind."

Every Nixon hater has his own defining flash point of rage. My parents passed down like treasured heirlooms their recollections of his red-baiting Congressional campaign against Helen Gahagan Douglas, his bathetic Checkers speech, his sanctimonious attack on Harry Truman's salty language (this from the master of the expletive deleted!).

For my generation, 1970 may have been the peak. When four anti-war protesters were shot and killed by Ohio Guardsmen at Kent State University, the President who had promised in the '68 campaign to "bring us together" and get us promptly out of Vietnam responded not with sorrow or regret but inhuman vindictiveness: "When dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy."

And there was still Watergate to come.

So enormous were the passions he provoked that Mr. Nixon became an almost geographical pole in the American psychic landscape, analogous to the rootless Southern California that spawned him. He was the darkest doppelgänger against which we measured ourselves. And not just in weighty matters of ethics or conscience. A generation of American boys learned the importance of a close shave thanks to his famous debacle in the first 1960 debate. His legendary hapless escapades in romance (courting his future wife by driving her to dates with other beaux) and comic self-promotion (his "Sock it to me!" cameo on "Laugh In") defined the antithesis of cool.

When Mr. Nixon left the White House in disgrace in 1974, he said: "Those who hate you don't win unless you hate them. And then you destroy yourself."

But his hatred of his enemies was precisely what led to the self-destruction of Watergate. Did a final new Nixon emerge in retirement, mellower and wiser than the disgraced politician? Let history decide.

What is certain is that many of his foes finally surrendered their own hatred — if not to forgive, then at least to respect his remarkable persistence and towering size. For an American who came of age with him in the second half of the 20th century, making peace with Richard Nixon proved in the end an essential part of growing up.

Bob Herbert is on vacation.

## Richard Nixon: Petty Schemes and Grand Designs

By Garry Wills

SOME say Ronald Reagan ended the cold war, spending the Russians to death in the arms race. Others say Mikhail Gorbachev ended it, with reforms that failed, but not before revealing the failure of the Soviet system. But if one person must be chosen for contributing most to the end of Soviet-American conflicts, my candidate is Richard Nixon. His recognition of what he called for years "Red China" brought into the open what had been denied religiously on both sides — that Communist solidarity was a myth (one on which we based our wars in Korea and Vietnam).

From that time on, the reality grew ever less escapable — that the Soviet Union was an embattled underdog. Coping with thousands of miles of border with China, with disaffection in the satellites and in neighbor states like Yugoslavia and Romania, the U.S.S.R. was clearly (in Richard Barne's phrase) the only country in the world "ringed by hostile Communist powers."

It took finesse, secrecy and all the skills of "Tricky Dick" to achieve the overnight change in Sino-Soviet-American relations. This move made it safe for Mr. Nixon to pursue détente and arms control with the Soviets. Admittedly, he had to continue the fighting in Vietnam, though his new ties with China removed the point of it: his right-wing supporters, shocked enough at the "betrayal" of Taiwan and the "surrenders" of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, would not let him back off from student demonstrators. So Henry Kissinger had to invent incredible arguments about "credibility" as the reason for fighting.

Nonetheless, the China move had begun the large shift in power relations that meant we had prevailed in the cold war. It was the most stunning diplomatic coup of the postwar era, enough to make Mr. Nixon a giant in the long perspectives of history.

Yet Richard Nixon had the unhappy gift of shrinking to dwarf size as

rapidly as he had towered up among the giants. The man who yearned to trade statesmanlike aperçus with world leaders also liked to steam away resentments among cronies who specialized in petty political treacheries.

His friends thought that this connoisseur of small thuggeries was a shy and sensitive man, on whom political roughhousing had been forced. That was certainly Mr. Nixon's own view. He felt that he labored under disadvantages that more favored people — handsome stars like Jack Kennedy, folksy heroes like Dwight Eisenhower — did not experience. He needed an extra edge — especially since he had witnessed the steeper

The wonder is that a man so easily wounded could soldier on through disgrace.

side of "Jack" and "Ike," who were effortlessly ruthless. He had to go to "mean school" all his life.

He wanted tough guys around him, to even the odds. He stiffened his own efforts at malice by gazing on the natural vindictiveness of John Mitchell or Charles Colson. He was always trying to unlearn the niceness his mother had taught him with the help of people he hoped were bad enough for the job — his mentors, from Murray Chotiner to John Connally.

The division between his natural sweetness and this diligently acquired meanness is what made Mr. Nixon so fascinating. It was symbolized in his famously uncoordinated gestures. No sooner had he made some large free motion with his right hand than his left hand twitched in some furtive swipe at a foe. Some Americans loved him for the enemies he made, not reflecting that his worst enemy was himself.

His grievances had a basis in fact. He was accused of having framed Alger Hiss — but Mr. Hiss was guilty. He was accused of having a political "slush fund" in 1952 — but the fund

on spent eight years being ignored (when not belittled) by his superior. When the President tried to dump him, he could survive only by a humiliating refusal to take "hints" delivered with a two-by-four.

He was obsessed with such mistreatment. He felt that privileged Ivy Leaguers had supported Mr. Hiss from mere class solidarity, snubbing the uncharismatic grind from Yborita Linda. He was so intimidated by Kennedy glamour that he first deployed his Watergate-style gumshoes to discredit John Kennedy (with cables faked by E. Howard Hunt and Chuck Colson) and Edward Kennedy (with Tony Ulasciewicz and others sent to exploit the scandal of Chappaquiddick). Though I do not believe he knew about the Watergate break-in, he had to obstruct the investigation of it, since it would lead to all the prior dirty tricks his secret teams had been up to (like rifling a doctor's files to smear the war critic Daniel Ellsberg).

The wonder is that a man so easily wounded in his amour-propre could soldier on through setbacks, contumely and disgrace. He rose again, eerily, from each stumble or knockout, apparently unkillable. He raised undiscouragedly to heroic scale.

What kept him going? Partly it was a zest for the game that had bruised him so badly. As a football player in college, he had been a clumsy line-man used as a live dummy by practicing teammates. Yet he loved sports and played ball games in his mind all his life. He loved politics in the same way. He "war-gamed" every conceivable campaign, for anyone who would take his advice — better advice for others than he gave himself, since he presumed others did not need the extra margin of petty scheming forced on him.

And he liked best of all to move chess pieces on the international scene. What if, in a surprise move, one slid China all the way across the board to check the Soviets? In some areas of politics, he seemed to know almost everything about anything — except about himself. His strengths and weaknesses fed upon each other. He was a small bitter man and a very grand diplomat. Who can read that riddle? Some of us have spent much of our lives trying to read it, with little better success than his own. □

Robert Grossman

was innocent. He was accused of manipulating emotions in the "Checkers" speech — but he was being manipulated by the ticket by Ike. He always thought himself more sinned against than sinning — though he certainly worked hard to even the account, and swelled the credit column considerably in his Presidential years.

He had served an exasperating period as errand boy to President Eisenhower. This can be a soul-withering experience, as Lyndon Johnson discovered during his tenure under Kennedy, and Hubert Humphrey discovered under Johnson. But Johnson had to suffer this for only three years, and Humphrey only for four. Mr. Nixon

## A Ton of Cure

By Michael Alderman  
and Douglas Shenson

THE most remarkable thing about the debate over health care reform is how little has been said about health.

Policy makers address every flaw in the system except its most grievous one: Americans live less healthy and shorter lives than people in most other industrialized countries.

The Clinton plan and its Congressional competitors will not bring about improvements in health that lie within our grasp. We need radical new ways to make sure everyone gets the handful of services proved to prevent disease and extend life.

Too few people get the vaccinations that prevent infections and the mammograms, pap smears and examinations that can detect cervical, breast and colon cancers while they are still curable. Nor do most people with high blood pressure or elevated cholesterol receive effective treatment that

of these services. They are now paying doctors to focus on prevention. But it is unclear whether this will do the job: studies reported in The British Journal of Medicine in January revealed that efforts in the doctor's office to reduce the risk of stroke and heart attack have had little if any impact.

Medical care systems do best in serving the sick. They have never been effective in delivering preven-

HEALTH CARE  
SECOND OPINIONS  
An occasional series.

tive care to an entire population. As the British experience suggests, it will take more than a raise in physicians' pay to insure that everyone gets the services they need.

Perhaps America can do better. We should abandon our reliance on doctors to achieve prevention. Just as local school authorities are responsible for providing primary and secondary education to all, a public health corps built on local health departments could take responsibility for a community's prevention needs.

An accountable authority would deliver to each individual, sick or well, the clinical procedures that count. Most can be provided by trained technicians, with nurse and physician supervision. The cost would be a tiny fraction of the trillion dollars we spend each year for medical care, and the payoff in improved health would be enormous.

The Clinton plan acknowledges the importance of an effective public health service and includes initiatives to streamline community-based activities. But these things are hardly central to the plan, which does not even guarantee them a source of financing.

As long as we place the responsibility for prevention in the hands of those who encounter only a small part of the population and whose aim is to cure rather than deter disease, our most powerful weapons against premature death will never be effectively used.

Responsibility for the public's health must be established. Guaranteed access to care for all is surely a commendable objective. But arguments about cost, physicians' fees, regulation and tax consequences threaten to obscure the real purpose of care.

If we continue to focus on ways to finance the treatment of diseases rather than on ways to prevent them, the opportunity to improve the nation's health will be missed. Reform must be about better health, not just better access to doctors. The two are not the same, and should not be confused. □

Needed: a public  
health corps to  
prevent illness.

can prevent strokes and heart attacks. These cancers and cardiovascular diseases together account for half of all deaths in the United States.

The Clinton proposal recognizes the importance of promoting good health and preventing disease, but it banks on the most expensive and least effective of its policy options to deliver the preventive goods: improving access to doctors. Experience suggests that providing such access does not in itself translate into the delivery of preventive services.

Forty-six years ago, the National Health Service was established in Britain to guarantee everyone access to a generalist doctor. While British health has improved, the gap that separates the most from the least fortunate has actually widened since 1948. Poor people have higher rates of virtually every disease, including those in which preventive services could make a difference.

Goaded by the persistence of preventable deaths, the British have abandoned the belief that guaranteed access to doctors assures the delivery

Michael Alderman is chairman and Douglas Shenson is a professor in the department of epidemiology at the Montefiore Medical Center/Albert Einstein College of Medicine.

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# Playing Children on Film

By ALJEAN HARMETZ

**T**heir names mean almost nothing at the box office. Their faces are, at most, vaguely familiar. Was he the one in "King of the Hill" or the one in "This Boy's Life"?

Child actors are nothing new. Hollywood has always used — and misused — children. What is new is a crop of more than a dozen child and teen-age actors giving extraordinary performances in movies in which few people live happily ever after. For every cute cardboard character in "Dennis the Menace" and "Mrs. Doubtfire," there were two or three painful roles for children last year in movies aimed directly at adults. And to play these painful roles, Hollywood does not use the modern-day equivalent of Shirley Temple.

Small personal movies featuring real children do not necessarily make money. The lighthearted films with cardboard children typically flourished at the box office, while most of their more serious counterparts did poorly.

Instead, such films are the result of a number of forces. Movies like "Boyz n the Hood" and "My Girl," in which children die randomly, are finally catching up with a society in which few children live in the world of Beaver Cleaver. In addition, many male film makers come from a generation in which men are more involved with raising children and hence eager to explore their own childhood emotions.

In 1993, children were the central or pivotal characters in nearly 30 movies. And for only the second time in Academy Award history, two actors under the age of 20 were nominated in the same year — 19-year-old Leonardo DiCaprio as a retarded teen-ager in "What's Eating Gilbert Grape" and 11-year-old Anna Paquin as a child who is her mother's voice in "The Piano." Ms. Paquin, who won as best supporting actress, had never acted before.

"Today, producers want children based in reality," says Deborah Aquila, the casting director for "King of the Hill" and "The Good Son," both of which starred young actors. "We're doing searches right and left. Vancouver, Toronto, Boston, Seattle, St. Lou-

Aljean Harmetz is the author of "Round Up the Usual Suspects: The Making of Casablanca."



Elijah Wood, with Lexi Randall, left, and Latoya Chisolm in "The War," in which Kevin Costner will co-star—Top billing.

is. Children used to come from commercials. The leading roles in one movie I cast, "Zebrahead," were played by a 16-year-old gang member from South-Central Los Angeles and a kid from the Bronx. The producers say, "We want to see real."

A film based on John Grisham's best seller "The Client," due this summer, hangs on a 11-year-old non-actor, Brad Renfro, who was discovered in a Nashville school. The 12-year-old drug dealer at the center of "Fresh," which was shown at New Directors/New Films last month, is played by a 13-year-old from the Bronx, Sean Nelson, who had done television before but never film.

Max Pomeranc, the second grader and chess prodigy in "Searching for Bobby Fischer," was discovered playing chess in an after-school club. Lillo Brancato, Robert De Niro's teen-age son in "A Bronx Tale," was swimming at Jones Beach when a casting director called him out of the water. T.J. Lowther, the 7-year-old boy taken hostage by Kevin Costner in Clint Eastwood's film "A Perfect World," was found in Utah.

"We were looking for an older kid, and I was frightened of a child that young, but Clint was fearless," says Phyllis Huffman, who cast the film. Mr. Eastwood, she says, "will sacrifice acting technique" for reality.

Since most writers and directors are men, the dramas that are being played out on the screen usually involve boys and their dead, absent or cruel fathers. For every "Piano," there are more than half a dozen films like "Josh and S.A.M.," in which

9- and 11-year-old brothers take to the road; "What's Eating Gilbert Grape," in which a father's suicide has doomed a family, and "American Heart," in which a teen-age boy tries to get his ex-convict father to notice him.

Girls do seem to be making a comeback on film, however, and not just in fluffy works like "Life With Mikey," "My Father, the Hero" and "I'll Do Anything." This year Tina Majorino, 9, has a big role in "When a Man Loves a Woman," opening Friday, and another in "Corina, Corina," due this summer; Zeldi Harris, 9, anchors Spike Lee's new film, "Crooklyn," which opens in May.

Because Hollywood has recently been making more and more movies for the family audience, dimpled, adorable children have not, of course, disappeared from the screen. Macaulay Culkin, a genuine movie star who makes \$8 million a picture, will soon be seen in "Getting Even With Dad," which opens in June.

But there will be more pictures this year like last year's "King of the Hill," in which the 12-year-old Jesse Bradford played a character who lived alone in a hotel room when his mother was sent to a sanitarium and his salesman father went on the road.

In "This Boy's Life," Leonardo DiCaprio had to survive his brutal stepfather, played by Robert De Niro. Now Mr. DiCaprio has the starring role in Jim Carroll's downbeat "Basketball Diaries," which is filming in New York. Mr. Bradford, by contrast, is lightening up a bit with "The Yellow Dog," a family adventure due in July.

Even a commercially successful boy-and-his-whole story, "Free Willy," with its delinquent foster child

hero, was considerably grittier than such a movie would have been five years ago. And Disney's "Adventures of Huck Finn," starring Elijah Wood, was a tougher than usual version of the Mark Twain novel.

"We didn't cuten the book up," says Lawrence Mark, the producer of "Huck Finn." "Until our movie, no one showed the Grangerford feud because a kid dies. We thought that death was a wonderful moment because it was the first time Huck had seen someone his own age die. There are still a lot of cute and adorable tykes around, but, for whatever reason, the screenplays I see of late feature juicy roles for young actors."

Steve Zaillian, who won an Oscar last month for his screenplay of "Schindler's List," wrote the screenplay for "Searching for Bobby Fischer," in which a boy and his father must come to terms with the boy's extraordinary talent. "It's our age," says Mr. Zaillian, who also directed the film. "Screenwriters and directors my age have kids. I have two boys, 5 and 8. I've become very much involved in the things my kids are going through, and their childhood reminds me of my own childhood."

Serious dramas starring children are rarely initiated by a studio. They are usually made because a director has a passion for the material. "We made 'King of the Hill' because Steven Soderbergh wanted to make that movie," says Tom Pollock, chairman of MCA's Universal Motion Picture Group. "Next fall we have an entire movie, 'The War,' that has to be carried by Elijah Wood. He has a good supporting actor in Kevin Costner,

but it's Elijah's movie. He gets top billing. We liked the script and we liked the director, John Avnet, who did 'Fried Green Tomatoes' for us."

Emily Gerson of the William Morris Agency represents Max Pomeranc, the young boy who appeared in "Searching for Bobby Fischer." "In years past, casting directors would go for kids who were actors already, mostly actors in commercials," she says. "Today they either go for top child actors or for unknowns."

Mr. Zaillian went beyond the shallow talent pool of working child actors when he chose Mr. Pomeranc. "Child actors develop bad habits early on," says Mr. Zaillian. "I'm usually aware of them acting. Children are usually best in their first performance."

Avy Kaufman, the casting director on "Bobby Fischer," says: "The script said the boy was wearing ripped jeans and a T-shirt. Max hadn't seen the script, but he came in dressed as the character was written." Told that Mr. Pomeranc is now making another movie — Carlo Carlei's "Fluke" with Matthew Modine — Ms. Kaufman hesitates. "The boy wants to keep acting," she says. "I can't see it. But maybe he'll grow."

That is the conundrum. Children who have been chosen because the Bronx is in their speech or preadolescent awkwardness in their gait — in essence, because they are real — get enough publicity to be pursued by major talent agents and offered new roles. What happens then?

"I think it's the rare kid who is just essence, who's not an actor actor, who will be able to hold your empathy," says Ms. Huffman, the casting director.

And Ms. Gerson adds, "I hate to name names, but there are certain kids you will never see again."

But the best of the recent crop of children may defy the odds and go on to do serious work as adults. Rob Reiner, who directed Elijah Wood in a new film, "North," opening in July, says he would not want his own son to be a child actor, yet he acknowledges that "Elijah is a prodigy. I've never seen a kid with that kind of facility."

Predictions are risky, but there is also agreement that Leonardo DiCaprio and Charlie Korsmo — like the late River Phoenix before them — have the talent and magnetism necessary to guarantee them careers beyond childhood. Still, it takes more than talent and star quality.

Mr. Korsmo began acting at age 10 in "Men Don't Leave." At 13, after starring in "Dick Tracy" and Steven Spielberg's "Hook," he made the decision to go home to Minneapolis. "Acting brings a drastic change," he says. "You have to be able to be away from home for months at a time. It's not a fun ride, working 12-hour days in a city far from home. I've been back in Minneapolis for 2½ years now, and basically no one remembers that I was in movies."

Mr. Korsmo's mother says that if her son works again, it will be in moderation. "When Charlie decided to come home to Minneapolis," she says, "he turned down some terrific offers. It was hard, as parents, to let him decide, but we felt it was necessary to give him the control over his own life. Steven Spielberg, Robin Williams and Warren Beatty all encouraged him to get out, to take time off. They told him, 'Don't get wrecked by this business.'"

## When a Man (A Lawyer!) Writes Films About Women

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

**R**on Bass arises each day at 3 A.M. in his sprawling home in Brentwood and starts to write in his loose-leaf notebooks. And write. Mr. Bass writes 12, 14 hours a day. On weekends he takes a break and writes only eight hours daily. Three, four, even five movie scripts are in various stages of completion.

"If someone says I'm a compulsive workaholic or I'm doing it for greed or I'm just grinding them out, they're absolutely wrong," said Mr. Bass, co-author with Al Franken of the drama "When a Man Loves a Woman," which opens on Friday. "I'm doing it because I love it. Anyone who says things like that should just look at my films."

Those films include "Black Widow," "Sleeping With the Enemy" and "Rain Man," for which he and Barry Morrow shared an Academy Award. Most recently he wrote the adaptation with Amy Tan of her first novel, "The Joy Luck Club." Some may find it unusual that many of his scripts are for so-called women's pictures. What he brings to those films, however, seems to be less a particular sensibility toward women than an ability to shape stories conceived by others.

Now the Walt Disney Company — and Mr. Bass — are hoping that "When a Man Loves a Woman" will be acclaimed as highly as "The Joy Luck Club." The new film, directed by Luis Mandoki and produced by Touchstone Pictures, stars Andy Garcia and Meg Ryan as a couple whose seemingly happy marriage is strained to the breaking point by the wife's alcoholism. The aftermath of her decision to seek treatment and her husband's reaction to this form the basis of the drama. The story is a bleak one and something of a tough sell. Films about alcoholism and drug abuse, like "Clean and Sober" (1988), have often done much better critically than financially.

This is Ms. Ryan's second attempt to advance beyond comedy roles, like those she played in "When Harry Met Sally..." and "Sleepless in Seattle," into more complex characters. In her most recent film, last year's "Flesh and Bone," she played a woman whose family had been murdered when she was a child. The movie was received well by many critics but failed to lure audiences.

Sitting in the lush garden of his

home the other morning, Mr. Bass said that his longtime friend Mr. Franken, the well-known actor and writer on "Saturday Night Live," had come to him years ago with the notion of writing a comedy about alcoholism. "It was really about co-dependency," said Mr. Bass, who was once Mr. Franken's lawyer. "The point was, you always see movies about substance abuse through the eyes of the abuser. The idea was to do something about the spouse, what it's like to be married to someone like that."

Needless to say, the idea of a comedy was quickly shelved. Mr. Fran-



Screenwriter Ron Bass

ken said he had personal experience with issues raised in the film but declined to go into detail. "I've attended meetings of Al-Anon, for friends and family members of alcoholics," he said. "What people don't know is that co-dependency is considered a disease by the rehab community. People who are co-dependent do as much crazy stuff as alcoholics do."

For years, the script was one of Hollywood's more popular unproduced movies. Among those who were involved and then dropped out are Tom Hanks, Michelle Pfeiffer, Debra Winger and the directors Lasse Hallstrom and Alan Pakula.

Mr. Bass said what consumed him about the film was that it was less an account of alcoholism than a contemporary love story. "Alcoholism was just the crisis that happened to this particular marriage," he said. "It could just as easily have been about someone getting cancer or losing a job or the death of a child or any kind of huge crisis. It's about how co-dependent we all are in our relationships and the extent to which people in the 90's permit and even encourage the people we love to control our

behavior and feelings with their behavior and feelings for a variety of unconscious, unspoken reasons."

Mr. Bass, 52, grew up in Los Angeles, the son of a stockbroker. His childhood was marred by severe illness — high fevers, stomach pains, respiratory problems — that left him bedridden for years, beginning when he was 3.

"We had a million doctors, a million theories, but no one knew what was wrong," he said. "Was it allergies? Was it psychosomatic? No one knows." After the age of 11, the illnesses suddenly stopped, although when Mr. Bass graduated from high school he only weighed 85 pounds and was just over five feet tall. He shot up later, in college.

Married, with two daughters, now ages 14 and 10, Mr. Bass was a highly successful entertainment lawyer when he turned to screenwriting full time in his 40's. As midlife crises go, this one has definitely been lucrative. In just a few years, Mr. Bass has emerged as one of the most successful and prolific screenwriters in town.

His legal training, he said, has had an impact on his current career. He was a partner in a firm that represented many of the stars and directors he works with now.

"I would come in every morning and punch into the Robert Redford negotiations for an hour and a half, then the Goldie Hawn negotiations," he said. "All day long for 17 years, I'd negotiate with complete focus from one complex thing to another. Believe me, there's no sense of dislocation, no sense of confusion and certainly no sense that I don't love the thing that I'm doing because I can deal with three or four different things in a day."

An amazing 17 of his projects are in various stages of development, which leaves many other screenwriters incredulous. On this particular morning, he had already been on the phone and faxing pages of dialogue back and forth with Terry McMillan, with whom he is writing the adaptation of her novel "Waiting to Exhale." (The movie, about four black women in Phoenix, will be directed by Forest Whitaker for 20th Century Fox.)

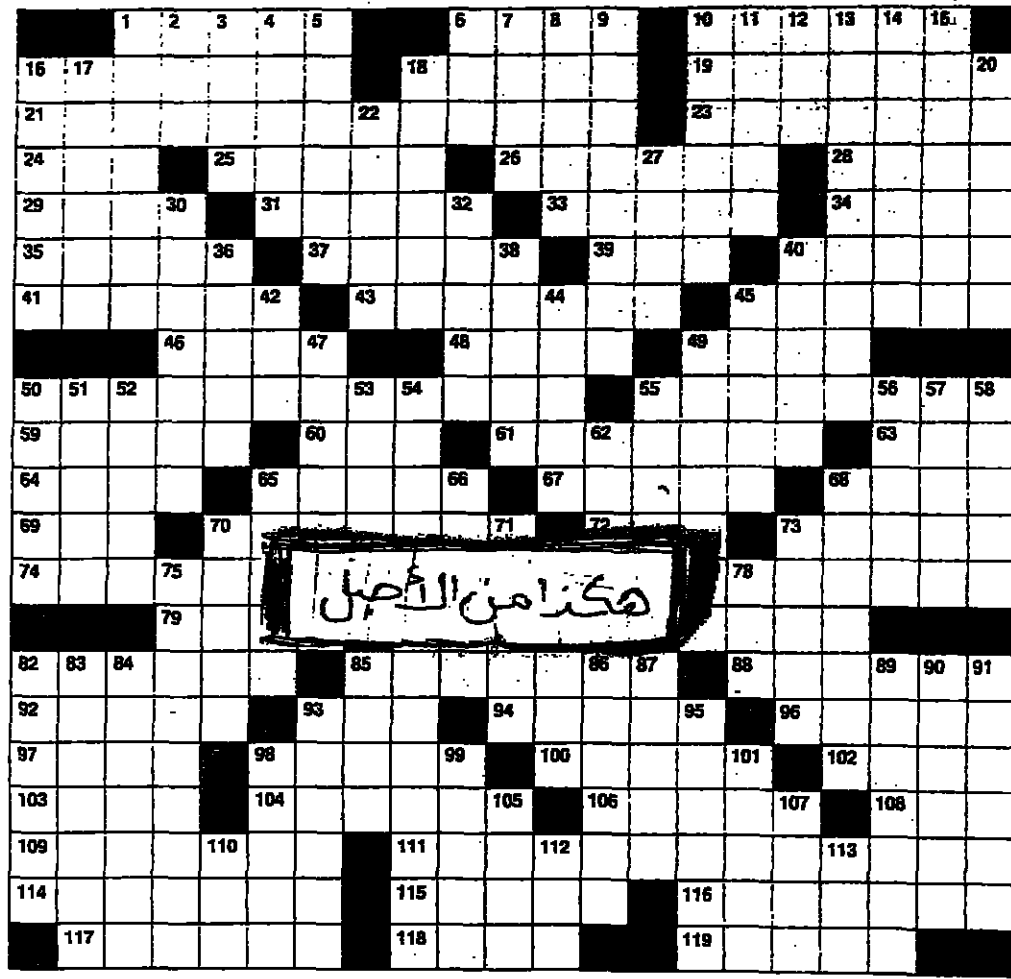
Mr. Bass was also working on the update of the classic film "Laura," preparing for a trip to Europe to research a thriller called "Martine" (to be directed by Wayne Wang for United Artists), arranging a meeting to discuss a movie about the founding of the International Red Cross and talking with executives about a new film based on the life of Mao Zedong.

### PLUGGED IN

BY LOUIS SABIN / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

#### ACROSS

- 1 Separates for the wash
- 6 Fashioned
- 10 Puts up
- 16 "Second Chorus" star
- 18 Polio was his target
- 19 Brigham Young's settlement
- 21 Shopper's convenience
- 23 Punish, in the loup
- 24 World chess champ, 1960-61
- 25 — Lawrence College
- 26 The Bounty's anchorage
- 28 Beer order
- 29 1958 Oscar winner for "The Big Country"
- 31 Scare off
- 33 Wyandot Indian
- 34 Point on a radar screen
- 35 Life — (emergency gear)
- 37 Muster out of the R.A.F.
- 39 Rev.'s offering
- 40 Coeur d'Alene, Idaho
- 41 Kind of planning
- 43 Part of R.S.V.
- 45 King during W.W.II
- 46 Vincent Lopez's theme song
- 48 Chemical endings
- 49 — a-brac
- 50 Itinerant minister
- 52 Bending
- 59 So far
- 60 Boater or stovepipe
- 61 Scene
- 63 Overt track rival
- 64 Some M&M's
- 65 Hullabaloo
- 67 Slav in the news
- 68 Vandyke place
- 69 Italian countdown word
- 70 "Gigi" actress
- 72 Closure
- 73 Electrical problem
- 74 Herpetologist's pets
- 76 Bargain centers
- 79 Ripe for drafting
- 80 Classmate, e.g.
- 81 Kind of hand
- 82 Braggart
- 85 Colonel on the board
- 88 Won skillfully
- 92 Dijon dreams
- 93 Julie Andrews comedy, 1981
- 94 Sweethearts' electricity
- 96 Winter wear
- 97 "Happy Days Are Here Again" composer Milton



- 88 Leave angrily, with "off"
- 100 Jane Campion film, with "The"
- 102 Yield
- 103 Common butt of jokes
- 104 Feeling a loss
- 106 Amphion's wife
- 108 First-rate
- 109 Add spice to
- 111 What's going on
- 114 Forestalling, with "off"
- 115 Energy sources
- 116 Russian political oddity
- 117 Quick
- 118 Word
- 119 Medicinal herb
- DOWN
- 1 Most outdated
- 2 Pulwar puller
- 3 Truck stop stoppers
- 4 "Don't — on me!"
- 5 Cautezized
- 6 Red Book author
- 7 Touch
- 8 50's singer
- 9 Bubbles over
- 10 Masthead heading
- 11 Plastics base
- 12 That, in Toledo
- 13 Part of a pen
- 14 Bloodhound
- 15 Play layout
- 16 On the go
- 17 Removes a layer
- 18 Connive
- 20 Brave retreat?
- 22 Do a banquet
- 27 Drove up the wall
- 30 Positions
- 32 Peregrinated
- 36 Robust
- 38 Noted name in I.Q. testing
- 40 Y's associates?
- 42 "L.A. Law" lawyer
- 44 Glacial ridge
- 45 Old English coin
- 47 Falcons' nest
- 49 Spaciousness
- 50 Hauls
- 51 Val-d' — (French resort)
- 52 Winona from Winona
- 53 Olympics logo
- 54 One's own: Prefix
- 55 Look-alike
- 56 Apollo's blood
- 57 Bête —
- 58 Word on some doors
- 62 Entertaining Jacques
- 65 Clementine's father, e.g.
- 66 Spiny-leaved plants
- 68 Beethoven's Ninth
- 70 Subject of biotech study
- 71 1993 Sinatra album
- 73 Bilked
- 75 Prelude to an airplane bombing
- 77 — Family Singers
- 78 Offshore A.P.B.
- 80 Tavern keeper
- 82 Rubbernecks
- 83 College board
- 84 Waste cause
- 85 Punster's reward
- 86 Batting champ Tim
- 87 Sink necessity
- 89 Wallachia and Moldavia, today
- 90 Boots
- 91 Excrete
- 93 Tight
- 95 Don who played Barney Fife
- 98 Splurge
- 99 20's "All American"
- 101 Like Jabba the Hutt, of "Star Wars"
- 105 Swell
- 107 Author Hunter
- 110 Play the game
- 112 Rental sign abbr.
- 113 Part of a crossword aviary

#### ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

SEE WEENS STEW BOORS  
IMA HETUP FILE ANLET  
BARBARASEVILLE MINIMA  
SHUT SECANT MINIVAN  
ONARE OTINAHSCARD ENG  
BURGLAR HELLORE LAYS  
EPT SLIME HELLORE LAYS  
ALLAN DRENCH REPO  
REPAIRED BRA NOD BUCO  
ADORNED CHAIRER BETET  
BILLET SHUNTER REVUES  
ASLOW CHAINED CEDILLA  
TOY NIAVAEE CATALYST  
SHUB PALTER UHLAN  
RUSH ARR NEVIN NDS  
RENO PLOSAH ENEMIES  
DET ROSATRALEE BALSIA  
INHAAD IPACORNS OAKS  
STANES IPACORNS OAKS  
CANINE TOMI ETHER ERA  
SLEET TEST DOLED NTH



# Nuclear families are dead; long live the family

Those who form family policies in the US do so with only the nuclear family's interests in mind, visiting sociology professor Judith Stacey tells Sasha Sadan

JUDITH Stacey, a wiry little redhead, 51, with modishly cropped hair and smart travel clothes, soft knit navy pants and a warm brown wrap, leans over the phone in her Jerusalem hotel room and dials and redials.

She wants to get through to her son in San Francisco and tell him to break a leg. Jake, who is 12, has acting talent and has been chosen to portray a disturbed child at a one-day family therapy conference.

Everyone thinks Herb arranged it, says Stacey, referring to her child-psychiatrist husband, but he didn't.

Stacey is a professor of sociology at the University of California at Davis and came here last week on her first visit to attend an international conference on Women, Family and Society at the Golda Meir Mount Carmel International Training Center.

On the first day, Stacey gave a speech, entitled *The Family is Dead, Long Live our Families*, in which she said it was time to focus on nonnuclear families.

The speech caused quite a stir among the delegates from all over the world, according to Golda Meir Center public relations head Ava Carmel.

Stacey, who herself lives in a nuclear family — mom, dad and son — and who grew up in one — mom, dad, herself and younger brother — talked about a global trend.

Say goodbye, she says, to the notion of the nuclear family as the only form of family. The statistics will catch you out.

For one thing, she notes, the divorce rate in the US is one marriage in two. In California, where she lives, it's even higher and she was told the figure here is closing

in on one in three. Of course, there are many other nontraditional households, such as lesbian couples and women who bring up children without ever marrying.

The trend in the US has been swift and dramatic and has resulted in a backlash.

"There is a moral panic in the US over single parents," she says. "There is an enormous media campaign, a surprising one to me, to stigmatize single mothers."

In 1960, some 70 percent of the children in Afro-American households were growing up in two-parent families, she says. Today the figure is turned around — more than 60 percent of Afro-American kids are growing up in single-parent households.

In Israel, of those households with children, about 10% are single-parent. Of course some of these are headed by men, but they are a tiny fraction of the picture. When the researchers talk about single parents, they mean women, Stacey says.

The backlash she talks about comes not just from the likes of former US vice president Dan Quayle, who created a sensation with his criticism of the fictional single mother embodied in *Murphy Brown* or the Moral Majority, a right-wing lobby group that sees itself as defending the sanctity of the family.

It is also present in the Clinton administration. She mentions Clinton's chief domestic adviser, William Galston, who she says listens to lobby groups such as Institute for American Values, co-directed by Barbara Whitehead, and the Council for Families in America.

Stacey says their stance was reflected by an *Atlantic Monthly*



An American sociologist says working women face a job structure that presupposes a full-time wife. (Israel Talby)

cover piece run last year: "Dan Quayle Was Right."

The backlash she sees is that these bodies choose their statistics to make them match their cultural prejudices. The charge is rather strong, but Stacey says she has always been outspoken and does not run away from controversy.

To be specific, she says the groups mentioned above stigmatize divorce as the worst thing for children and charge that women who divorce are catering to their own needs and should instead sublimate their problems and hold home and hearth together.

Stacey says this is an easy argument to make if you assume that couples stayed together in the past because they had decent marriages. She doesn't. She says there is an assumption made, unchecked, that couples stayed together because the pressures and problems in marriages didn't amount to misery.

"The decline in the Ozzie and Harriet type of family has been so rapid that people want easy explanations," she says.

"I'm not saying that divorce is great, but you have to look at who is doing it and why and what are the real choices available. Of course, I think children should be

taken into account."

Stacey says both men and women have the economic choice today to leave a bad marriage. She also cites the influence of the separation of sexuality from reproduction. This also introduces an element of freedom.

While divorce and single parenthood are blamed for a variety of society's ills, such as juvenile delinquency and the inability of the offspring of divorced parents to create stable committed relationships in their own lives, Stacey says the research done on the subject looks quite different if you control for a few factors.

For example, most women experience a significant drop in means with divorce. It is unfair to compare their families to those whose economic status is quite different.

Then again, the children of couples who divorce in a bitter fashion might be more fairly compared to those of couples who stay together in a hostile relationship. It's known that when couples part and the battles of divorce subside, the children turn out like those of other families, Stacey says.

Yet the researchers are not always so precise, she says. Take the issue of women who have children

out of wedlock. If it doesn't happen by accident, then the unwed mother tends to be labeled as selfish, she says. But no child asks to be born. All children are born, if not by accident, then by a selfish decision.

Above all, Stacey says the idea of the family as dad being the primary breadwinner and mom the one who stays at home in a secure existence as the tradecoff for the sugar-coated patriarchal subordinate role has changed, because the breadwinner has been downgraded in the market.

In other words, employers needed women in the work market, and their entry and subsequent changes made society receptive to the feminist movement. It wasn't that the movement pulled women into the market.

Uphaval in society can be expected to catch many a soul in the shifting gears. Stacey says that unfortunately for women, work is still organized as if a man who has a full-time wife is doing it.

Anyone without the support of a full-time wife, such as the vast majority of single mothers, has to run twice as hard to stay in the same place.

Stacey says critics of the new family forms do promote what

they call family-friendly policies, but they are friendly to the traditional nuclear family.

In the US, women can have three months' maternity leave and still retain their jobs only if there are at least 50 workers in their workplace. Mothers who can't meet this standard and take leave lose their jobs. Shockingly, maternity leave in the US is not always paid, while here it has been upgraded this year from 75% to 100% of pay.

In Israel, a working parent, male or female, can take six days off a year to stay home with a sick child. The US has yet to reach that standard.

Stacey says the best model for caring for all kinds of family units is Sweden, where either parent can take a year off, with 90% pay, to care for a newborn. That benefit is followed by another six months in which a parent can choose to work less than full-time without any threat of firing and still receive full social benefits despite earning a reduced salary.

In Sweden, a worker also receives approximately 20 days off a year to take care of an ailing family member, not necessarily a child. Stacey says she grew up in the

affluent years of the 1950s in the US. She was the daughter of lower-middle-class parents in Cranford, New Jersey, where she was a Jewish girl trying hard to assimilate, including becoming a cheerleader.

"I did the right thing," she says referring to her college years. "I had gone to college to find a husband and I did."

She became engaged her final year at school and put a nice Jewish boy through medical school by working as a high-school teacher.

Stacey was teaching American history at a racially mixed high school in Illinois when she took a course called Negro History.

What she learned in the course and what she saw every day in terms of the poor blacks at her school clashed with what she was taught in the Cold War years in elementary school — that America was the greatest country on earth and that all Americans have equal opportunities.

Her radicalization was influenced by the Vietnam War, the civil rights movement and by friends.

Her advancement in the academic world followed the breakup of her first marriage. She won a string of fellowships and became a full professor at the University of California, Davis, in 1989.

Among her publications is the book *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China* (University of California Press, 1983), which in 1990 was translated into Japanese.

One of the regrets in her life is that she wasn't able to have more children, she says.

Stacey says she was surprised and fascinated by her first visit to Israel, surprised by how much she wants to come back.

She has not done research on the Jewish family, and her own practice of Judaism reflects a West Coast life-style in which extended family is absent. She and her husband and son participate in a congregation without walls, one that has no official membership. They celebrated a liberation seder for Pesach with friends this year and a communal breaking of the fast after Yom Kippur.

She was surprised by the pervasiveness of English here and clearly enjoyed it because of how much she was really able to talk to people.

Stacey leaves Israel today and will teach a seminar the day after she returns for which she has yet to finish reading a book called *Vested Interests*, which gives a historical context to transvestism.

Among her conversations here, Stacey says she was surprised by the prominence given to the subject of battered wives. "I didn't know it was that much on the agenda here."

## Staff musical chairs are a bureaucratic rite of spring throughout Japan

KIYOSHI, a civil servant in remote northern Japan, will never forget that March morning three years ago.

His boss at the prefectural office called to tell him he was being transferred to the region's representative office in Tokyo, and must report to work there in two weeks.

The news hit Kiyoshi like a bombshell.

"I'd taken the day off because it wasn't my turn to be transferred again."

Mass staff transfers, or *jinhido*, are as much a Japanese rite of spring as the ritual viewing of cherry blossoms, with virtually all private companies and government organizations making personnel switches at this time.

But the plight of civil servants in regional governments is especially miserable, with up to 25 percent

shifted in any given year, often to a faraway town, forcing them to move house and leave behind family and friends.

Yet, as the clock ticks down, only a select few staff managers know who will be going where until the day the latest round of musical chairs is announced.

Even the day and time of the announcement are kept vague.

The only certainty is that everyone will be transferred once every three or four years throughout his working life.

The goal, according to personnel managers, is to produce staff capable of handling any possible administrative task. "We want generalists, not specialists," said one.

Some admit to other reasons. "People are switched around every few years, because if they weren't, they'd become too close

Civil servants never know where they will be living when Japan's massive annual worker rotation takes place. Elaine Lies reports from Tokyo

to members of the public with whom they come in contact, and that can have some bad results," said another.

Though employees receive questionnaires as transfer time approaches, asking them to list their experience and workplace preferences, there is no direct consultation.

"I have never once been sent to a place I requested," said Kiyoshi, a civil servant for nearly 20 years. "But the transfer is an order from your superior, so you have no choice but to obey."

Refusal of a transfer can result in anything from a warning notice placed in your file to a slower climb up the seniority ladder. In extreme cases, you could lose your job.

Not surprisingly, few decline a new posting. "We have no record of anyone rejecting a transfer," one manager said. "All civil servants understand this goes with the job."

TRANSFERS TAKE place simultaneously, because it is easier for people to start their new jobs if

others are changing with them, he added. "This way, it gives a feeling of renewal."

The two weeks before transfers are known as a time of almost unbearable tension, say Kiyoshi and Masato, a colleague.

Rumors run rampant through dimly lit halls. Anxious queries of "Will you be transferred?" replace more conventional greetings. Enigmatic comments by bosses are dissected late into the night over cups of whiskey.

Anyone who has just bought a house is especially nervous, for

the popular belief is that the year you buy a house, you will be moved.

For Masato, the curse came true in six months.

Perhaps the worst aspect of the transfers is that you learn of them, at best, only two weeks before you must take up a new post.

Many receive a mere three days' notice.

By contrast, most private companies give slightly more warning, sometimes a whole month.

All job changes take effect on April 1, the start of the new fiscal year.

"If transfers are announced too early, people who know they're going to a new job will lose enthusiasm for the work they're doing now," said a personnel manager in Wakayama, in central Japan.

For those who remain at the prefecture's head office, and even

for those transferred to branch offices in smaller regions where commuting is possible, this is no big problem.

But for staff in larger prefectures, where branch offices may be separated by four-hour drives over twisting mountain roads, transfers also entail moving.

Due to such factors as children's schooling, many leave their family behind.

Employees sent to Tokyo, like Kiyoshi and Masato, are often discouraged from taking families with them.

"On the weekends when I go home, I feel as if I'm not really a part of the family any more," complains Masato.

This year, March finally brought Kiyoshi news that he'll be transferred home.

"It's been a long three years," he said. (Reuters)

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## BUSINESS &amp; FINANCE

MONDAY, APRIL 25, 1994

A8

## Bezek plans NIS 2b. public offering this fall

BEZEK plans to carry out a public offering of NIS 2 billion to pay back its debts to the Treasury at lower interest.

Bezek reached an agreement with the Finance and Communications ministries yesterday to find a joint way to ensure the payment of pensions to company workers who were transferred from the Communications Ministry to Bezek upon its founding a decade ago. They agreed the dispute would

JUDY SIEGEL

not come at the expense of the workers.

The government and Bezek decided on the public offering, which will take place between August and November. Part of it will be raised locally and the rest abroad.

Some NIS 1.5b. will increase the company's shareholders equity and pay off its debts early to the government, which currently bears 7.3 percent interest.

Reducing interest costs will save the company NIS 100 million a year, Bezek said.

Bezek employees can take part in the public issue, comprising 1.5% of the company's capital not included in the previous issue.

This will be offered to staffers at the price set then, which is half of the current price. In the next issue, workers will be able to buy in, at a rate of 10% of the issue (or 2.5% of the value of the company).

## Bank of Israel expected to keep rates unchanged next month

JOSE ROSENFIELD

THE Bank of Israel is expected to keep interest rates unchanged next month in the face of strong opposition to an increase by the government and business.

The central bank's management met yesterday to set next month's monetary program, including interest rate levels. Its decision will be announced today.

Banking sources told *The Jerusalem Post*, that the Bank of Israel plans not to raise rates for the next two months and will devalue the shekel against foreign currency at the same rate it did last year. This

will mean that the shekel which has remained virtually unchanged against the dollar since the beginning of the year, will have to rapidly devalue 8 percent until the end of the year.

Following the 1% jump in prices in March, the Bank of Israel has been hinting that it may raise interest rates to curb inflation. Manufacturers Association President Dan Propoy called on the central bank to lower interest rates by 1% since underlying inflation, excluding housing and seasonal factors, is

only running between 6% and 7%.

Last week, Propoy was joined by Finance Ministry director-general Aharon Fogel who testified before the Knesset finance committee that raising interest rates would fuel inflation.

Economists have said that March's high Consumer Price Index reflected seasonal factors such as higher fruit and vegetable prices due to Pessah and high housing prices at the end of last year. There is a lag of about three months in the reporting of housing

price. Economists estimate that the stock market's fall earlier this year has dampened demand for housing and consequently has restrained housing prices, which will be reflected in future indexes.

Analysts fear that raising interest rates now as the economy is slowing down due to the closure of the territories could act as an additional brake on economic growth. They believe, therefore, that the Bank of Israel will wait and see whether prices will moderate after April, which is a month with a traditionally high index.

## Launch delayed of Israel Capital Develop. Trust

NEIL COHEN

THE launch of the Israel Capital Development Trust, a closed end mutual fund which was to have been quoted on the London Stock Exchange, has been delayed, the fund's manager said yesterday.

The fund's London broker, Townsley and Co., decided to postpone the launch due to a drop in investor interest following the Hebron massacre and the weakness in the share price of the Israel Fund.

This closed end fund, sponsored by broker SGST Strauss Turnbull and managed by investment bank Barclays de Zoete Wedd, was trading at a 20 percent discount to its net asset value.

"The hope is that the launch will take place once the atmosphere improves," Ossie Weitzman, company secretary of CIS (Concept Investment Services) said last night.

A new date has not been set for the launch, which was originally planned for late March and then put back to this month. "but the matter is under constant review," Weitzman said.

The fund, which was not underwritten, aims to raise from £25 million to £50m.

"There was significant institutional support for the fund, even after the Hebron massacre and this support remains," Weitzman said.

## Ayalon Insurance posts net profit

RACHEL NEIMAN

AYALON Insurance Co. ended the year with a NIS 181,000 net profit, compared with NIS 4.26 million in losses in 1992.

Changes in insurance regulations brought an increase in the company's reserves, reducing profits from general insurance by NIS 2.14m. and from life insurance by NIS 333,000.

Total premiums rose to NIS 1.85m. from NIS 1.76m. Total life insurance premiums were NIS 2.9m. last year.

Earnings from life insurance were NIS 915,000, in sharp contrast to a NIS 393,000 loss in 1992. Shareholders equity was NIS 29.95m., including revenues from a NIS 15.373 capital note issued to the Fairchild Co. and NIS 1.82m. from conversion of publicly-held bonds, representing 40% of total bonds issued.

## RSL signs \$4.7m. deal with German Air Force

RACHEL NEIMAN

RSL Electronics has signed a \$4.72 million agreement to provide engine monitoring systems to the German Air Force as part of a Phantom fighter plane upgrade program.

The sum represents a 60 percent increase in orders to \$37.4 million from \$23.2m.

RSL has already produced temperature and diagnostic monitor-

ing systems for the J-79 Phantom engines, manufactured by General Electric.

An RSL company representative will be presenting the unit this week at GE headquarters in Cincinnati, Ohio, to an international gathering of air force representatives.

Countries whose air forces own Phantoms include Japan, South Korea, Spain, Italy and Greece. All of whom RSL says it has contacted.

The company is also in the bidding for two additional contracts in the US and Holland, worth a total of \$18m., to provide velocity monitoring systems for artillery.

RSL announced fourth-quarter earnings last week at NIS 1.49m., compared with a loss of NIS 1.26m. for the same period last year.

Annual sales were reported at NIS 15.98m. last year. The company has announced intentions this spring to develop non-military applications for its products, establishing two subsidiaries, which are as yet not running.

## World Bank economist: GATT deal won't help local exports

JOSE ROSENFIELD

THE volume of local exports might rise a mere 0.2 percent, a World Bank economist said yesterday, because the recently signed Uruguay Round trade agreement will erode the preferential treatment of Israeli goods under the Free Trade Area agreements with the US, the European Union and EFTA.

Alexander Yeats, who spoke at a Hebrew University seminar on "The World Trade System After the Uruguay Round - Implications for Israel and the European Union," said Israeli exports might increase by \$43 million as a result of the elimination of non-tariff barriers.

Twelve percent of local exports

is the simultaneous reduction of intra-European trade preferences, which could open Europe to more Israeli products.

Nearly half of intra-European trade gets preferential treatment, he said.

GATT economist Richard Blackhurst said the vast majority of economic welfare gains would go to the US and the EU as a result of their reductions of trade barriers.

GATT has estimated that the new world trade agreement will result in world welfare gains of \$255 billion.

Blackhurst noted that Israel's economic gains would depend on the reduction of trade barriers the country will undertake.

## Blech cuts BTG holding

RACHEL NEIMAN

BLECH, a major US biotech investor, cut its holding over the weekend in Biotechnology General, the Rehovot based biotech concern.

Blech sold approximately 12 percent of Bio-Technology General Corp. to several institutional in-

vestors last at an undisclosed price.

Blech bought into BTG in 1991 and helped the company raise further capital.

Blech continues to own approxi-

mately 2.3 million BTG shares, representing some 6.2% of the company's outstanding shares.

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## Ministry of Health

## Medical Negligence

Pursuant to a Government decision, Prof. M. Shani, the Director General of the Ministry of Health, has appointed a committee to consider the possibility of fixing a ceiling for damages awarded in cases of medical negligence.

## The Committee Members:

Dr. G. Kling  
Tel Aviv District Court Judge, Chairman  
M. Hueber-Harel, Adv.  
Head, Claims Department, Legal Division, Min. of Health  
Dr. A. Yisraeli  
Deputy Director-General, Hadassah Hospital, Jerusalem  
P. Segal, Adv.  
Senior Executive, Legal Advice and Legislation, Min. of Justice, Jerusalem  
H. Peletz  
Head, Health Section, Budgets Dept., Min. of Finance, Jerusalem  
Dr. N. Rozenblitt  
Head, Medical and Epidemiological Policy, Kupat Holim Clalit  
N. Stern, Adv.  
Tel Aviv District Attorney (Civil)  
T. Spanic, Adv.  
Deputy Attorney General (Civil), Min. of Justice, Jerusalem  
Dr. M. Tirosh  
Deputy Head, Sheba Medical Center

The Committee invites the public to submit relevant views and data. Those who wish to make such submissions should write to the Committee Secretariat by May 28, 1994.

Address such letters to: M. Hueber-Harel, Adv., Committee Secretary, Legal Div., Min. of Health, 2 Ben-Tabai, Jerusalem 93591.

## Whisky distillers petition court

THE Scotch Whisky Association, which represents most of Scotland's whisky manufacturers, petitioned the High Court of Justice yesterday against a lower court order to return 1,600 whisky bottles to an Israeli company.

The company, Nebo Agencies Ltd., manufactures alcoholic beverages whose label contains the word "Scotch" and a picture of a bagpipe player.

The association had originally sued the company in Tel Aviv Magistrates Court, claiming that the label was misleading, because the beverage was neither real whisky nor made in Scotland.

The court issued a search and seizure order, as a result of which some 1,600 bottles were confiscated from the company.

However, it later acquitted the company of any wrongdoing and ordered the bottles returned.

In its petition, the association reiterates its charge that the label is misleading.

"The use of the label and the name constitute a false representation of the merchandise's country of origin, the type of beverage and the manner of production. What else does someone need to put on alcoholic beverages in order to mislead regarding their origins and content?" (Itim)

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## ISRAELI MONEY MARKETS

## Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) (24.4.94)

Currency (deposit for)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	3.500	3.875	4.500
Pound sterling (£100,000)	2.825	3.275	4.250
German mark (DM 200,000)	4.500	4.275	4.500
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	2.875	3.000	3.000
Yen (10 million yen)	0.625	0.750	1.000

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

## Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates\* (22.4.94)

Currency basket	Buy	Sell	Banknotes	Buy	Sell	Rep.
U.S. dollar	2.2070	2.2020	2.82	2.82	2.82	2.82
German mark	1.7548	1.7735	1.72	1.72	1.72	1.72
Pound sterling	4.6187	4.6790	4.33	4.33	4.33	4.33
French franc	0.5128	0.5172	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50
Japanese yen (100)	2.2653	2.2667	2.02	2.02	2.02	2.02
Dutch florin	1.5638	1.5656	1.54	1.54	1.54	1.54
Swiss franc	2.0878	2.0888	2.03	2.03	2.03	2.03
Swedish krona	0.3770	0.3782	0.37	0.37	0.37	0.37
Norwegian krona	0.4021	0.4038	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.40
Danish krone	0.4481	0.4545	0.44	0.44	0.44	0.44
Finnish mark	0.5408	0.5485	0.53	0.53	0.53	0.53
Canadian dollar	2.1862	2.1866	2.12	2.12	2.12	2.12
Australian dollar	2.1233	2.1634	2.06	2.06	2.06	2.06
S. African rand	0.8249	0.8365	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70
Belgian franc (10)	0.0541	0.0562	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
Austrian schilling (10)	2.4088	2.5320	2.46	2.46	2.46	2.46
Italian lira (1000)	1.8287	1.8626	1.80	1.80	1.80	1.80
Jordanian dinar	—	—	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10
Egyptian pound	—	—	0.85	0.85	0.85	0.85
ECU	3.3946	3.4425	3.38	3.38	3.38	3.38
Irish punt	4.2834	4.3526	4.19	4.19	4.19	4.19
Spanish peseta (100)	2.1893	2.1898	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10

\* These rates vary according to bank. \*\* Bank of Israel.

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI















# Shamgar commission judge, Zuabi, not biased, state tells court

THERE is no proof of bias on the part of Nazareth District Court Judge Ahmed Zuabi, and therefore no reason to remove him from the Commission of Inquiry into the Hebron Massacre, the state told the High Court of Justice yesterday.

It was responding to a petition filed by Tel Aviv lawyers Amnon Galbert and Yoel Shlomo, which is to be heard on Wednesday. The petition, based on an April 8 interview with Zuabi published in *Ma'ariv*, asks that Zuabi be disqualified because of his preconceived notions about the settlers.

"When I came to the commission, I knew that the cruel side in the territories was the settlers," Zuabi was quoted as saying. "But I didn't have facts... I knew that the IDF treated the settlers differently, but I didn't dream there were written orders [to do so]."

In its response, written by Nili Arad, the head of the Justice Ministry's High Court division, the state stressed that Zuabi has denied

EVELYN GORDON

making these remarks.

"The commission's deliberations are at their height, and I have certainly not formulated any opinion or stand about the issues being discussed before us," Zuabi said in a statement reprinted in the response. "To the best of my memory, I did not utter the statements attributed to me in the article... but in any case, I want to stress that these statements do not in any way reflect my position."

*Ma'ariv*, however, has claimed it has witnesses who could confirm the accuracy of its report.

The state's response also included a statement from Supreme Court President Shimon Dershowitz, who appointed Zuabi to the commission.

"I believe that Judge Zuabi, like the rest of the commission's members, has no preconceived idea which would prevent an objective approach

to his job as a member of the commission," Shamgar said. "Therefore, I see no reason to end his membership on the commission."

These statements from Zuabi and Shamgar, Arad concluded, "should allay all the petitioners' fears," and therefore the petition should be rejected.

Herb Keiron adds:

In a related development, Miriam Goldstein, the widow of Baruch Goldstein who killed 29 people in Hebron's Machpela Cave on February 25, filed a formal request last week with Kiryat Arba police to investigate who killed her husband.

Goldstein was apparently beaten to death by worshippers after running out of bullets during his shooting spree. Noam Arnon, spokesman for the Jewish settlement in Hebron, said that just as the IDF protected one of the terrorists who stabbed Sigal Sofer on Saturday in Neveh Dekalim, the police have an obligation to investigate who killed Goldstein.

# Ramon: Labor blocking my campaign funds

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

THE Ramon-Meretz list yesterday asked the Histadrut court to transfer NIS 5.2 million owed to them, which they said Labor and Histadrut leaders were blocking.

The court, chaired by retired Judge Eliyahu Nawi, is to rule on the issue today.

Ramon's list maintains that the Histadrut had promised to take bank loans of NIS 45 million to NIS 50m. to be given each faction in proportion to its size. The money was to have been covered over the next few years by the factions' financing system in the Histadrut.

In addition to NIS 5.2 million which Ramon's list is asking for, it is also demanding NIS 380,000 as current funding owed Mapam and the Citizens Rights Movement for April-May this year, which they say has not been paid.

Histadrut Treasurer Artur Yisraelovitch told the authority that he had not been able to raise the NIS 50m., because the banks' terms were too stiff for the Histadrut. He said the most he could raise so far was NIS 15m.

The Tel Aviv District Court is

to rule today on the Ramon-Meretz list's appeal to allow it to use the name "Ramon" on its ballots. In their statement to the court, the list attorneys said the Histadrut court was wrong to forbid using the name "Ramon" because it constitutes campaign propaganda.

The list has a right to choose the name it wants and the law does not prevent it from using the name of a certain person, they argued. The general elections committee sent out 540,000 notices last Thursday to Histadrut voters informing them where and how to vote. The remaining notices will be mailed this week, before the final deadline on April 26. Altogether there are 1,567,740 registered members, 53% Na'amat members who will also be able to vote for Na'amat's new leadership.

The Ramon-Meretz campaign staff yesterday said they doubt the election committee's intention to notify voters of voting details in time, and said it has taken on itself to send notices to all Histadrut members.

# Rishon mayor to keep his post despite conviction

RAINE MARCUS

RISHON Lezion Mayor Meir Nitzan was given a three-month prison sentence, suspended for two years, and fined NIS 10,000 by Tel Aviv District Court yesterday, after being found guilty of breach of trust.

Nitzan was convicted of appointing Menahem Shai as head of the Rishon Lezion Symphony Orchestra without a tender, as required by law, and of paying Shai \$4,500 while he was in the US, contrary to his contract.

But Judge Oded Mudrich determined that the two counts of breach of trust did not constitute a disgrace or dishonor, and Nitzan will not be forced out of office.

After the sentencing Nitzan said, "I cannot be happy after being convicted of a criminal offense." For the last four years, he said, the case has been "hanging over my head."

"Throughout the trial, Rishon residents put their trust in me," said Nitzan. "If this can happen to me, I am worried about what may happen to other mayors accused of similar offenses."

Nitzan's lawyer Amnon Eyron said he may appeal the conviction, "after studying the verdict."

Prosecutor Moshe Shilo, who had asked Mudrich to rule that the offenses entailed "dishonor and disgrace," also said he may appeal the ruling.

"I have mixed feelings about the verdict," said Shilo.

Following the ruling, some 100 municipality employees and supporters cheered, sang, and tossed sweets at their mayor and his



Rishon Lezion Mayor Meir Nitzan and his wife meet the press outside Tel Aviv District Court yesterday after he received a suspended sentence and a fine for breach of trust.

lawyers. In sentencing, Mudrich said Nitzan's behavior was "no different to that of many other mayors."

"In order to rule that offenses constitute dishonor or disgrace the defendant's behavior must exceed normal patterns to such an extent to indicate low morals," said Mudrich. "I haven't found that to be true in this case."

Although Nitzan hired Shai without the required tender, the latter proved himself to be a competent manager, and had helped advance the orchestra's activities and image, said Mudrich.

A tender prior to Shai's appointment had not been successful, "but we must ensure correct management of local councils," said Mudrich.

Referring to the money paid to

Shai during his month abroad, Mudrich remarked that if Nitzan thought he deserved a bonus, he could have found other ways to reward him.

While noting that Nitzan had acted for his residents' well-being and not for personal gain, Mudrich said that punishment should have a deterrent effect, and a fine alone would not serve that purpose.

# Police confirm Beersheba mayor being questioned for alleged fraud

AMIR ROZENBLIT

THE police spokesman yesterday confirmed that Beersheba Mayor Yitzhak Rager is being questioned regarding allegations he had submitted bills for personal expenses to several different bodies, for which he was reimbursed some NIS 20,000.

The investigation by the fraud squad is focusing on suspicions Rager presented these bills, for goods and services both here and abroad, to the municipality, the Beersheba Economic Corporation, and the Beersheba Foundation. Rager serves as chairman of the board of both the corporation and the foundation. There is suspicion he may have presented several of the bills to all three bodies simultaneously.

Police have also questioned the city treasurer, Arye Unzig, his two predecessors, Meir Balaban and Aviv Cohen, and the director of the Beersheba Foundation, Yitzhak Yellin. Earlier this month they raided city offices and the offices of the two other bodies and seized hundreds of documents.

Until the police announcement, Rager's office had repeatedly denied that an investigation was taking place.

Yesterday, Rager's office issued the following statement: "The mayor has given investigators a pile of bills and receipts in his name (over 120 from abroad and over 30 local ones) that were collected since publicity began regarding the investigation, for amounts over NIS 50,000, for which the mayor never claimed reimbursement from any body, even though he was entitled to do so. All the relevant material has been turned over to police."

# Antiquities Authority workers, haredim clash over Jaffa excavations

RAINE MARCUS

EXCAVATIONS in Jaffa by the Antiquities Authority will continue, after Tel Aviv police reached an agreement with haredim allowing the archeologists to carry on digging so long as they do not touch graves.

Excavations have been taking place on a Rehov Yefet site intended for apartments. A group of haredim arrived there yesterday morning and protested violently after several skeletons were discovered. The Atra Kadisha haredim, led by Rabbi David Shmiedel, said the excavations violated Jewish graves.

A fight then erupted during which Antiquities Authority representatives said that one of their workers was assaulted. Police arrested five haredim, including Shmiedel, who were later released

following the agreement between the sides.

Tel Aviv police chief Gabi Last, together with representatives from the Religious Affairs Ministry, Antiquities Authority, and Atra Kadisha, agreed that digging would continue but that workers would not touch graves, "to keep the peace."

But the Antiquities Authority said graves uncovered at the site were of Christian Arabs, and that no Jews are buried there.

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CANADIAN STUDIES CONFERENCE  
JERUSALEM, MAY 1-4, 1994  
Malersdorf Faculty Club, Mount Scopus, Hebrew University

PROGRAMME	
<b>SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1994</b>	<b>11:00-13:00</b> GEOGRAPHY/ECONOMY/POLITICS 2 Speakers: Fry, Lipshitz, Glass, Zerkel
<b>15:00-17:00</b> Registration	<b>LITERATURE 6</b> Speakers: Melançon, Martiny
<b>17:00-17:30</b> Greetings	<b>13:00-14:30</b> Annual assembly of the Israel Association for Canadian Studies.
<b>17:30-19:00</b> Opening Session	<b>14:30-16:00</b> ETHNICITY 5: ETHNICITY, COMMUNITY AND IDEOLOGY Speakers: Perin, Kofman, Regev
Gunnar: "FEDERALISM, NATIONALISM AND REASON" REASSESSED.	<b>LITERATURE 7</b> Speakers: Page, Levy, Ajzenstadt
Nevein: "ELECTORAL DISCONTINUITY: THE 1993 CANADIAN FEDERAL ELECTION."	<b>16:30-18:30</b> PLENARY SESSION - THE GENERAL OVERVIEW Breton: THE MANAGEMENT OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS: AN OVERVIEW OF THE CANADIAN EXPERIENCE.
Seiberg: "FACTORS IN CANADIAN MIDDLE EAST POLICY."	Elm: CONSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MULTICULTURALISM: THE CANADIAN EXPERIENCE.
<b>MONDAY, MAY 2, 1994</b>	Adelman: BLACKS AND JEWS - RACISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM IN CANADA: THE CASE OF "SHOW BOAT"
<b>08:45-10:30</b> ETHNICITY 1: CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES Speakers: Weill, Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy, Schimmel	<b>21:00</b> Belgium House, Givat Ram Campus READING OF POETRY AND FICTION: Keefer (FICTION), Barbour (POETRY), Blodgett (POETRY), Sherwin (POETRY), Kahn (FICTION)
<b>LITERATURE 1</b> Speakers: Dietz, Schuch, Barzilai	<b>WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 1994</b>
<b>11:00-13:00</b> ETHNICITY 2: ETHNICITY AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES Speakers: Walker, Raday, Simpson, Heilman	<b>08:45-10:30</b> ETHNICITY 6: ETHNIC DISCOURSE Speakers: Ben Rafael, Schely-Newman
<b>LITERATURE 2</b> Speakers: Sherwin, Toledo, Freiwald, Mali	<b>GEOGRAPHY/ECONOMY/POLITICS 3</b> Speakers: Silber, Kariel, Blum-Lipovetsky
<b>14:30 - 16:00</b> ETHNICITY 3: STATE AND POLITICS Speakers: Ajzenstadt, Srebnik, Barsky	<b>11:00-12:15</b> ETHNICITY 7: ETHNICITY AND POLITICS Speakers: Siegel, Tsairi, Eilam
<b>LITERATURE 3</b> Speakers: Barbour, Perreault & Dorscht	
<b>16:30-18:30</b> ETHNICITY 4: ETHNOGRAPHIES AND CASE STUDIES Speakers: Cohen & Gold, Neeman, Polliack, Shabray	
<b>LITERATURE 4</b> Speakers: Keefer, Blodgett	
<b>TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1994</b>	
<b>08:45-10:30</b> GEOGRAPHY/ECONOMY/POLITICS 1 Speakers: Razin, Langlois, Oberlander	
<b>LITERATURE 5</b> Speakers: Amossi, Haruvi, Meadwell	

THE PUBLIC IS INVITED